

**CILICIAN ARMENIA IN THE
PERCEPTIONS OF ADJACENT
POLITICAL ENTITIES**



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**CILICIAN ARMENIA IN THE
PERCEPTIONS OF ADJACENT
POLITICAL ENTITIES
(HISTORICAL-PHILOLOGICAL ESSAYS)**

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FOREWORD

One of the most important achievements in Armenology is the two hundred-plus years of multilateral study of Cilician Armenian history. The main sources, first brought out by the efforts of Mikayel Chamchian (1786), Édouard Dulaurie (1861), Victor Langlois (1863), Levond Ališan (1865), Grigor Mikaelyan (1952), Sargis Boinazian (1973) and others, created discussion on the turning points of Cilicia's internal and foreign policy. The '80s of the 20th century were marked by renewed interest in the history of the Cilician Armenian state. Scholars began comparing information in the official Cilician historiography with that of Byzantine, Latin, Syriac, Arab and Persian sources. The history of Cilician Armenia was being discussed more frequently within the broad context of world history, arousing the interest of such scholars as Byzantinist F. Chalandon; specialists in the Crusades R. Grousset, J. Prawer, H. Mayer, J. Richard, and P. Edbury; medievalist-Arabists Cl. Cahen, N. Eliseev, P. Holt, R. Amitai, and A. Stewart; Syrologists P. Kawerau, and A. Lüders; Mongolists G. Lane, D. Bayarsaikhan and others. In tandem with them studies continued in the field of Cilician Armenian toponymics (F. Hild, H. Helenkemper), architecture (R. Edwards), numismatics (Z. Bedukian), and sigillography (J. Cl. Cheynet, W. Seibt, V. Shandrovskaia, et al.). All of this attests to the relevance of such research and the keen and broad historiographical interest in the subject. The publication of fundamental, comprehensive works by G. Dedeyan (2003), L. Ter-Petrosyan (2007) and Cl. Mutaflan (2012) seems to have completed the next phase of studies in the history of Cilician Armenia.

Today scholars are looking for other issues awaiting resolution. Because it emerged at the tangled crossroads between East

and West, the Cilician Armenian kingdom, whether willingly or not, caused a great quandary in the Islamic-Christian dialogue. The Crusades, the Mongol invasion, and active participation in complex relations between the Christian and Muslim state-formations, predetermined its historical fate. Multilateral study of the history of Cilician Armenia is another step in understanding such an important component of our millennia-long history: The historical-cultural interaction between East and West.

The present collection includes the results of scholarly research conducted in 2013–2015 within the framework of the project “*Cilician Armenia in the Perception of the Adjacent Political Entities (12th–13th cent.)*”, which was funded by the State Committee of Science, the Ministry of Education and Science of Armenia (code 13-6A388). During the past two years, head of the project, Azat Bozoyan, advisor Rustam Shukurov, contributors Vahan Ter-Ghevondian and Gagik Danielyan, formed a viable team, where each member aimed to present his own relevant observations. In order to jointly use the specialized literature and sources relating to the subject, the team members worked to create a rich digital library. The technical knowledge and skills of Gagik Danielyan and other members of the team allowed them to fill the library with digitized special literature.

In May 2015, our team, with the assistance of the State Committee of Science under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Science of Armenia, organized a conference: “The Church and State in Cilician Armenia: Interior and Exterior Perspectives”, held at the Holy See of Echmiadzin, our focal interests

* For a report on this conference, see (V. Rev.) Shahe Ananyan, «Ekelec'i ew petut'iwn Kilikyan Hayastanum: hayac'k' nersic' ew drsic'». Mijazgayin gitažolov Mayr At'or S. Ėtchmiacnum (“*Church and State in Cilician Armenia: Interior and Exterior Perspectives*”. *International Conference Held at the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin*), *Etchmiadzin*, 72, 2015 (5), pp. 98–101.

led to lively discussions among the conference participants.

Each project participant has his own section in the book. Of course it was impossible in such a short period of time for the scholars to address every pertinent question. However, each participant tried his best – based on his specific field of research – to explain the image of Cilician Armenia in the eyes of its contemporaries from neighboring states. Thus, A. Bozoyan tried to restore the image of Cilicia based on the historiographic treatises of the 12th century and the documents of the Nicaean Empire and the Palaiologos dynasty. Rustam Shukurov summarized certain details of the perception of Cilician Armenia by the neighboring Seljuqid states emerging in Asia Minor. Vahan Ter-Ghevondian's attention was focused on the issues of origin and legitimacy of the Rubenid dynasty of Cilician Armenia in the Near Eastern Muslim and Christian historiography. Noteworthy also was the research by Gagik Danielyan, Postgraduate of the Institute of Oriental Studies, in which he tried to reconstruct the image of the Armenian State and Church based on Muslim historiography of the 12th–16th centuries. During the term of this project the author defended his Ph.D thesis on “*Al-Maqrizī's Kitāb al-Sulūk as a Source for the History of Cilician Armenia in 1250-1310*”. Two papers by this young scholar, included in this volume, are dedicated to the institutions of “king” (*t'agavor*) and “Catholicos of All Armenians” (*Amenayn Hayoc' Kat'olikos*) and their perception in the Muslim, especially Mamluk historiography.

Obviously, in the course of two years' work the authors could reconstruct only a few conceptions of Armenian history, and the theme should certainly be further developed. Specialists in this field would probably note that the members of the team have bypassed the conceptions of such important neighbors of Cilician Armenia as the Crusader States of the East and the Mongol Empire. It was also impossible to embrace within this research the entire

material in Byzantine, Ayyubid and Seljuq treatises and their historiography. That is why the subject of discussion was limited to a number of specific issues. The project participants preferred publishing the main results of their research in this book, which is further enhanced by indices of personal names and toponyms compiled by G. Danielyan.

The book consists of three parts. The first part is dedicated to the analysis of the Byzantine sources (A. Bozoyan); in the second part R. Shukurov reveals the data of the Seljuqid Persian sources relating to contact between the Iconium Sultanate and the Cilician Armenian State, while V. Ter-Ghevondian and G. Danielyan deal with the ruling house of the Cilician kingdom and the peculiarities of perception of that state's civil and ecclesial heads in major Near Eastern documents.

The authors are extremely grateful to Anahit Martirosyan for the translation of this book from the Armenian original, and, of course, to Prof. Abraham Terian for editing the translation while allowing the authors to retain much of their respective styles.

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A. Bozoyan

CHAPTER 1

THE EVIDENCE OF THE BYZANTINE SOURCES

A. A. BOZOYAN

1. CILICIAN ARMENIA FROM THE BYZANTINE IMPERIAL PERSPECTIVE (TWO APPROACHES)

Byzantine studies

Recent Byzantine studies relating to Armenology have focused mainly on the provinces of Asia Minor and the eastern policy of the Byzantine Empire, as well as on the history of its political relations with the Cilician Armenian state. The 11th century was marked by a new migration of the Syrian and Armenian populations from North Syria and Great Armenia towards Byzantium. As shown by P. Charanis, one of the pioneers in the field of migration research, mass migrations of the Armenian population to Byzantium and especially to the provinces of Asia Minor continued throughout the 6th–12th centuries¹, thus proving the findings of N. Adonts. Considering this, G. Dagron shifted the emphasis to the eastern provinces of the empire to show the migrations of Syrians². The next attempt to study the migrations taking place in the empire's east was undertaken by German scholar H. Ditten, who delineated the entire mix of ethnic migrations in the 6th–11th centuries³. The above investigations are

¹ P. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire*, Lisboa 1963.

² G. Dagron, *Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'Orient byzantine à la fin du X^e et au XI^e siècle: l'immigration syrienne*, Travaux et Mémoires 6, 1976, pp. 177–216; *idem*, *Le temps des changements*, in: *Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours*, t. IV: *Evêques, moines et empereurs (610–1054)*, ed. Jean-Marie Mayeur, Luce Pietri, André Vauchez, et Marc Venard, Paris, 1993, pp. 297–348.

³ H. Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen zwischen der Balkanhalbinsel und Kleinasien vom Ende des 6. Bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1993 (*Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten*, Bd. 59), S. 72–82, see also

quite important because, relying heavily on Byzantine sources, their authors discussed the movement of the Armenian population with its military units and their role in the governance of the eastern provinces of Byzantium.

Another attempt to generalize from the studies and multilingual sources on the consolidation of the Armenian population and military units in Cilicia, Cappadocia and North Syria was made by G. Dedeyan⁴, who based his investigation of the Cilician principality's rise in them. A great breakthrough in the study of relations between the Byzantine Empire and the Cilician Armenian kingdom was F. Chalandon's work published at the beginning of the 20th century. Based on sources about the Byzantine history of the Komnenoi era, the study compiled the political history where the Armenian factor and political relations between Byzantium and the Cilician Armenian principality in the 12th century had been reflected in most detail⁵. Religious-political relations existing between the mentioned state units in the 12th century have been discussed in my works⁶. Armenian-Byzantine contacts of the later period, ref-

idem, *Hayeri telašaržerə byuzandakan kaysrut'yan mej Hustinianos A-ic' minč'ev T' dar (Armenian Migrations in the Byzantine Empire since Justinian I to the IX Century)*, *Patma-banasirakan handes (Historico-Philological Journal = HPI)*, 1988, 1, pp. 23–36 (in Arm., translated by A. Bozoyan).

⁴ G. Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés: Etudes sur les pouvoirs Arméniens dans le Proche-Orient Méditerranéen (1068–1150)*. Vol. 1: *Aus origins de l'état Cilicien: Philarete et les premières Roubeniens*; Vol. 2: *De l'Euphrate au Nil: Le réseau diasporique*, Lisbonne, 2003. See the detailed review of the book by A. Bozoyan, *HPI*, 2005, 2, pp. 296–302.

⁵ Especially important for making a general idea of historical image formation is the 6th chapter of the monograph; see F. Chalandon, *Les Comnènes. Études sur l'Empire Byzantin au XI et au XII siècles: Jean II Comnène (1118–1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143–1180)*, Paris, 1912, pp. 93–118.

⁶ See A. Bozoyan, *Byuzandiai arewelyan K'alak'akanut'yuna ew Kilikyan Hayastanə ŽB dari 30-70-akan t'vakannerin (The Eastern Policy of Byzantium*

lected mostly in ecclesial documents, were underscored by A. Heisenberg⁷, Fr. Dolger, V. Loran, G. Darrouzès⁸, H. Hunger and O. Kresten⁹, whose huge contributions to the study of the Byzantine patriarchal and imperial diplomacy are invaluable.

In the field of Armenology, we particularly have to underline the contribution of Professor Hrach Bartikyan for pioneering the introduction and detailed historical-philological analysis of Byzantine sources relating to the history of Cilician Armenia. Fortunately the scholar's legacy was published in his lifetime and readers may find it in a three-volume edition of his works¹⁰. Bartikyan's first article relating to the field was published in 1958, at the very beginning of his scholarly career; studying Isaac Angelos's letter published in 1884 by A. Papadoupoulos-Kerameus,

and Cilician Armenia in the '30s-'40s of the 12th Century), Yerevan, 1988; see also *idem*, Hay-byuzandakan ekelec'akan banac'ut'yunneri vaveragrera (1165–1178 t't.) (*Documents on the Armenian-Byzantine Ecclesiastical Negotiations [1165–1178 Years]*), Yerevan, 1995.

⁷ A. Heisenberg, Zu den armenisch-byzantinischen Beziehungen am Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Philologische und historische Klasse, 1929, 6, S. 3–20.

⁸ The scientific description of several records from the imperial notariats is given by Fr. Dölger. V. Loran and J. Darrouzès have described the records sent to Armenian Church from the Constantinople Patriarchal notariats.

⁹ Das Regester des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. 1. Teil: Edition und Übersetzungen aus den Jahren 1315–1331 / Herausgegeben von Herbert Hunger und Otto Kresten unter mit arbeit von Carolina Cupane, Walter Fink, Wolfram Hörandner, Ewald Kislinger, Peter E. Pieler, Gerhard Thür, Reinhard Willvonseder, Herbert Wurm, Wien, 1981, S. 590–604 (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*. Vol. XIX/1; hereinafter *CFHB*).

¹⁰ See H.M. Bartikyan, Hay-byuzandakan hetazotut'yunner (*Armenian-Byzantine Studies*), vol. I–II, Yerevan, 2002 (*Ačemian Series*, III/1–2); *ibid*, vol. III, Yerevan, 2006 (*Mesrop archbishop Ashjian Series*, 19).

which had not yet attracted the attention of Armenologists¹¹. In that article the author also invited attention to two letters by the fourteenth-century Constantinople patriarch Isaias (1323–1334), written between April 1330 – April 1331, to Armenian Catholicos Jacob II of Anavarza and Armenian king Levon IV¹². In a 1960 publication, this prolific Byzantinist drew the attention of Armenologists to an extremely important document relating to negotiations held during the reign of Levon I with the Empire of Nicaea in 1213¹³, which was published over half a century earlier by Byzantinist A. Pavlov¹⁴ in the journal of the Russian Imperial Academy *Vizantijskij Vremennik* (BYZANTINA XPONIKA). Two decades later, Bartikyan published his very interesting prosopographic research on John Atman, a member of the delegation of Theorianos, the authorized representative of the emperor and the Constantinople Patriarch at negotiations on Armenian-Byzantine Church union¹⁵.

¹¹ H.M. Bartikyan, Nor nyut'er Kilikiayi haykakan petut'yan ew Byuzandiai p'oxharaberut'yunneri masin (*New Materials on the Relations Between the Cilician Armenian State and Byzantium*), Bulletin of Matenadaran, 4, Yerevan, 1958, pp. 285–290; see also *Ajemian Series*, III/1, pp. 29–39.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 290–295. The originals of these letters published in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* (PG), vol. 153 were translated to Armenian by H. Bartikyan. The letters of Patriarch Isaias were re-published in 1981 with comments and German translation by a group of Austrian Byzantinists, edited by H. Hunger and O. Kresten, see *CFHB*, Vol. XIX/1, S. 590–604.

¹³ H.M. Bartikyan, Hay-byuzandakan not'er (*Armenian-Byzantine Notes*), Bulletin AS ASSR: Social Sciences, 1960, 7–8, pp. 133–138; see also *Ačemian Series*, III/1, pp. 47–56.

¹⁴ See A.C. Pavlov, Sinodal'naja gramota 1213 goda o brake grečeskogo imperatora s docerju armjanskogo knjazja, *Vizantijskij Vremennik* (hereinafter *VV*), t. IV (1897), 1–2, pp. 160–166.

¹⁵ R.M. Bartikyan, Rol' igumena Philippopoljskogo armjanskogo monastyrja Ioanna Atmana v armjano-vizantijskix cerkovnyx peregovorax pri katolikose Nersese IV Blagodatnom, *Herald of the Social Sciences NAS RA*, 1984, 6, pp.

In this article he comprehensively examined the role of the Armenian Chalcedonian clergy in the twelfth-century Armenian-Byzantine negotiations. Although most of his observations were based on presumptions since the available research was at the stage of source collection, his works were still an important step forward in discussing the religious reconciliation problems in the field of Armenian and Byzantine studies.

Further works by the noted Byzantinist dedicated to the political subtext of the Armenian-Byzantine church negotiations during the 13th–14th centuries¹⁶ were based on new sources that displayed certain lexical peculiarities appearing in Greek records of the period. The author's next work contained detailed discussion of the correspondence between the Constantinople Patriarchs Germanos II (1222–1244) and Manuel II (1244–1255) with Catholicos Constantin I of Bardjrbard (1221–1267)¹⁷. An interesting example

78–88; see also Ačemian Series, III/2, pp. 341–351; See the Armenian translation in: **H.M. Bartikyan**, P'ilipupolsi haykakan vank'i vanahayr Hovhannes Atmani derə hay-byuzandakan ekelec'akan banako'ut'yunnerum Nerses Šnorhali kat'olikosi orok' (*The Role of the Abbot of the Armenian Monastery in Philipopolis John Atman in Byzantine-Armenian Church Negotiations in the Time of Catholicos Nerses Šnorhali*), Echmiadzin, 1985, 7, pp. 25–32; see also Ačemian Series, III/1, pp. 541–548.

¹⁶ **H.M. Bartikyan**, Kilikyan Hayastani ew Byuzandakan kaysrut'yan ekelec'akan p'oxharaberut'yunnerə ew dranc' k'alak'akan calk'erə (*Relations between the Cilician Armenian and Byzantine Churches and Their Political Implications*), «Ashtanak» annual, Yerevan, 1995, v. I, pp. 112–126, see also Ačemian Series, III/1, pp. 639–653. See the French version of this article: **H.M. Bartikyan**, Les relations des églises de l'Arménie Cilicien et de l'Empire Byzantine et leurs implications politiques, Actes du Colloque "Les Lusignans et l'Outre Mer" (Poitiers-Lusignan 20–24 Octobre 1993), Poitiers, 1993, pp. 47–53; see also Ačemian Series, III/2, pp. 895–901.

¹⁷ **H.M. Bartikyan**, Hay-byuzandakan ekelec'akan yaraberut'yunnerə p'astat'it'erum: Kostandnupolsi patriark'ner Germanos B-i (1222–1244) ew Manuel

of making the Byzantine sources speak loudly is the scholar's article on the life of Guido Lusignan (Gy de Lusignan) within the context of the Byzantine period¹⁸.

In one of his articles written in the last years of his life, Bartikyan discussed the issues of the Armenian presence in the Byzantine Empire of the 11th–14th centuries¹⁹, trying to summarize the evidence contained in the recent publications of Late Byzantine documents²⁰. Bartikyan has greatly contributed to understanding and reconstructing the stance and perception of the Cilician Armenian kingdom by the Byzantine Empire. In the last part of that work he tried to investigate the Byzantine imperial and patriarchal sealed documents, the system of their wording formulations, and the implications of that evidence for the level of diplomatic relations between the empire and the Cilician Armenian kingdom. To the extent possible, he made use of the critically edited records and the scholarly literature available to him.

B-i (1244–1255) t'it'erə Het'um A t'agavorin ew Kostandin A Barjrbardc'i kat'olikosi (*Armenian-Byzantine Church Relations in the Documents. Letters of the Constantinople Patriarchs Germanos II (1222–1244) and Manuel II (1244–1255) to king Hetum I and Catholicos Constantin I of Bardjrbard*), «Gandzasar» Theological Journal, vol. 7, Yerevan, 2002, pp. 50–86; see also Ačemian Series, 19, pp. 27–63.

¹⁸ **H.M. Bartikyan**, Gvidon Lusinyanə Byuzandayum ew Kilikyan Hayastanum (*Guido Lusignan in Byzantium and in Cilician Armenia*), «Ashtanak» annual, vol. 2, 1998, pp. 135–143; see also Ačemian Series, III/1, pp. 683–692.

¹⁹ **H.M. Bartikyan**, Hunakan mijnadaryan arxivayin p'astat'it'er Byuzandakan kaysrut'yan tarack'um hayoc' nerkayut'yan masin (XI–XIV dd.) (*Medieval Greek Archival Documents Pertaining to Armenian Presence in the Territory of the Byzantine Empire (XI–XIV centuries)*), HPJ, 2003, 3, pp. 87–130; see also Ačemian Series, 19, pp. 127–170.

²⁰ The subject of Bartikyan's study was the six volume edition of Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana / Collecta ediderunt **Franz Miklosich** et **Joseph Müller**, published in Vienna, 1860–1890.

Following Bartikyan's research and the perception shaped by official Roman diplomats of the Eastern Roman Empire, we have prepared a description of notarial documents or registes of separate records from the imperial and patriarchal chanceries dating from the 12th century to the '30s of the 14th century. The research presented below is compiled by the same method we followed in our former publication of the records of negotiations between the Armenian and Byzantine churches dating from the '30s-'70s of the 12th century.

Issue statement

As is well-known, the Cilician Armenian kingdom was established on Byzantine territories in the second half of the 11th century when the empire was gradually being ousted from its east Minor Asian holdings, as a result of the Seljuq invasion. Thus the study of the stance and response of the Byzantine Empire and its public institutions to the policy of the Cilician Armenian principality (and its political and church hierarchy) is especially important. It should be taken into account that while in the '70s of the 11th century the region of Cilicia adjoining the Byzantine territories was often considered a frontier zone, prior to the 13th century it was mostly deemed subject to the empire and thought to be its integral part inherited from the Roman Empire. According to official Byzantine historiography in the 7th century, that region turned to an arena of military and political clashes between the Arab Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire. The first time the empire lost Cilicia as a separate region was in 703. In the '60s of the 10th century, during the reign of Nikephoros II Phokas, the region was re-conquered by Byzantine armies. During the Arab domination the region of Cilicia acquired a status of a frontier zone (*tugūr*) between the Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire. After re-conquering the region under the Macedonian dynasty, a number of

Byzantine military *themata* were established the provinces of Cilicia, Isauria and North Syria, with centers in Seleucia, Lykandos, Tluk and Edessa.

Long before the battle of Manzikert, either through force or diplomatic persuasion, the Byzantine Empire displaced the noble families of Great Armenia and resettled them together with their fighting squads in Cappadocia and North Syria. With Byzantium's withdrawal from these regions the Armenian forces tried to gain a foothold by extending feudalism as practiced in Cappadocia, Cilicia and North Syria. They were mainly vassals of the emperor and recognized the Byzantine supremacy. Best known of them were Philartos Varajnuni (Philaretos Brachamios) and Xaç'atur, duke of Antioch, later on also the lords of Melitene, Edessa and Tluk, as well as Goł Vasil. After 1071, when the Byzantine forces were crushed by the Seljuq armies of the Great Sultanate in the battle of Manzikert and Byzantium lost control of Cilicia along with other Minor Asian provinces, the regional rulers (Philarthos Varajnuni, Xaç'atur, duke of Antioch and Toros, lord of Edessa who had preserved their power) continued to formally recognize the Byzantine sovereignty. This is evidenced by Byzantine titles granted to these statesmen, preserved in our source documents. The empire could not for long accept the loss, not only of Cilicia but also of the other Minor Asian holdings, and did not recognize the *de facto* autonomy of the Armenian principalities in the region; rather, it continued considering them subjects of empire.

Since the end of the 11th century, after the battle of Manzikert, two of a number of new Armenian princely houses mentioned by Byzantine, Armenian and eastern sources – the Oshinides and Rubenids – began struggling for control over the mountainous regions of Cilicia and beyond, into the southern plains²¹. To streng-

²¹ The history of all Armenian princely houses of the 11th-12th centuries is tho-

then their grip of Cilicia both princely families recognized the Byzantine supremacy; they wore the titles of *sebastos* and *protosebastos* received from the empire and were inherited by their successors. Notably, to preserve their political power the representatives of both houses sought Byzantine protection (deemed to be important then) and tried to receive further Byzantine titles at any price.

Up to the second half of the 12th century, after a certain success of the First, Second and Third Crusades, the Byzantine Empire led a very active foreign policy in Asia Minor and North Syria, appointing and conferring unlimited military-administrative power on its governors (*strategoi*) who ruled in cooperation with Armenian princely houses. The only state able to block the recovery of these regions was the Norman principality of Antioch. However, contrary to the energetic ecumenical policy of the Byzantines, the Rubenid Armenian principality succeeded in unifying almost all Cilician regions and shedding off its vassal allegiance. Whether through using its own resources or by entering into coalitions with other Crusader and Muslim Minor Asian statehoods, the principality took its first successful and purposeful diplomatic steps in international relations, which led to full and factual independence of the country by the end of the 12th century. In 1198/1199²² the Rubenid Cilician principality was proclaimed a kingdom by the Holy Roman Empire and the Pope of Rome. One of the first to recognize this Armenian kingdom was the Byzantine Emperor bound to send a crown to the Roubenid Prince Levon II. The response of the official Byzantine historiography was full of hostility

roughly discussed by G. Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens...*, v. 1-2.

²² As evidenced by the letter of Nerses Lambronatsi "To Levon", prince Levon II was locally perceived as a sovereign ruler; see *Recueil des Historiens Croisades, Documents Arméniens* (RHC D.A.), t. I, p. 578.

towards the success and especially the aspiration of the Cilician Armenian principality for independence. Byzantine sources of the time provide a bulk of information and details missing from other sources. Some relevant data on the region are added by Near Eastern Muslim sources, which will be presented in the subsequent chapters of this book.

Until the battle of Myriokephalon (1176) the Armenian authorities autonomously ruling in Cilician regions had been in tight political and economic relations with the Byzantine Empire and recognized its sovereignty. From time to time the empire would station rather large armies in this part of Asia Minor, including feudal lords' armed forces in vassal allegiance. According to information provided mainly by Byzantine historians Anna Komnene, Ioannis (John) Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates, beginning with the '40s of the 12th century, Byzantium was sending its *strategoi* to Cilicia to gain local support in an attempt to consolidate the Komnenian power. Further plans included the establishment of a unified administrative-military unit in Atalia, Isauria, Cilicia, Antioch and Cyprus²³. During the same period, the Byzantine Empire tried to restore its power in Asia Minor. The basic political goals of John II and Manuel I Komnenos were to get strong positions in the coastal regions of the Black and Mediterranean seas, disallowing other states' free entry to the Mediterranean basin; to subjugate, through dynastic marriages, the Crusader states of the Near East to the empire; and to recover its international prestige. The prerequisite to this policy was the subordination of the Armenians – especially their armed forces stationed in Cappadocia, Cilicia and North Syria – to Byzantine political interests. To reach that goal the Empire organized distant campaigns in North Syria (1136–1138, 1143–1148/1149, 1158, etc.), trying to disunite them with the help of pro-

²³ A. Bozoyan, *Eastern Policy of Byzantium...*, pp. 194–195.

Byzantine forces or to ignite internal wars in Cilicia. This compelled the Hromkla Catholicosate to adopt the dogma and rite of the Byzantine church and recognize the supremacy of the Patriarchy of Constantinople. However, historical treatises of the time reflect a countering development. With the Byzantine Empire being driven further and further from its primary goals and becoming even more dislodged (as a result of continual defeats, especially at the battle of Myriokephalon) from the ongoing political struggle in Cilicia and North Syria in the second half of the 12th century, the Rubenid principality consolidated its positions in the region. Owing to these consistent political gains, the Rubenid principality acquired the status of an independent state. Finally, in 1198, the Byzantine Empire recognized the independence of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia.

Exceptionally important for in-depth understanding of the twelfth-century history of Cilicia and North Syria are the historical-literary works of the eleventh-century Byzantine authors Michael Attaleiates and Michael Psellos, which reflect the Byzantine political interests and point of view. Continuing the centuries-long traditions of Byzantine historiography, these authors provide very interesting data on the involvement of the Armenian population and armed forces in the Byzantine wars. They tell about the campaigns of the Byzantine emperors not only against Cilicia, but also against the Iconium Sultanate and the Danishmend Emirate – the states that had become next-door neighbors of Byzantium, driving a wedge between it and its former provinces of Seleucia, Cilicia and North Syria. With this perspective the Byzantine sources show the state of affairs in the region from their narrow political, imperial vantage point.

The political crisis that started in the Empire at the end of the 12th century, during the last years of the Komnenoi, was one of the main reasons for the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in

1204 and breakdown of the country. The new consolidation of the Byzantine political, military and economic power in Nicaea, completed in 1260 by the re-conquest of the capital, still did not allow the new emperors of the Paleologos dynasty to think of extending their power over Cilicia. The ultimate priority of the Empire was to preserve the Byzantine control still lingering in the Balkans and which was gradually fading away in the west of Asia Minor.

A few official documents dating from the 13th–14th centuries testify that the Cilician Armenian kingdom was only of interest to the Byzantine Empire as a Christian country, and an alliance would serve both countries well. For that very reason, the records of the imperial and patriarchal chanceries of that period were full of respect for Cilician Armenian political and spiritual leaders; the respect grew in inverse proportion to the weakening of the empire. These historical documents, letters, and decisions by the Church Councils testify that, while trying to establish an alliance, the emperors and patriarchs of Constantinople and Nicaea were always reminded of the theological, dogmatic differences. This was of even more concern to the Byzantines because the followers of the heterodox Armenian Apostolic Church were living in Constantinople, the Balkans and Asia Minor since time immemorial. From time to time the Empire took measures against that population, including attempts at forced conversion. That is why the preserved documents frequently touched on the problem so painful to both sides, and that is why various Byzantine treatises labeled the Armenian population as “heretics”. Although the church-supported the traditional state policy aimed at the Armenian population living within the empire, there was a new awareness that forced conversion of the Armenian population residing in its territory was doomed. Having thus failed for centuries to erase the theological divide through forced conversion to “orthodoxy”, the civil and religious

authorities of the empire sought a new strategy: to win over the heads of the Cilician Armenian state and church. That was the main objective of the official negotiations for Church union held at times with the Armenian Catholicosate. The participation of the Cilician Armenian Catholicosate and state in these negotiations pursued two goals: first, establishing a union on equal terms; and second, strengthening the ties with the Armenian population living in Byzantine territory. Ecclesial and political negotiation records presented herein show that, on the eve of negotiations, the Byzantine party was often trying to clear itself from charges of persecution brought by the Armenian civil and church authorities. The Byzantine party denounced the attempts of forced conversion, insisting that the Armenian faith was not persecuted in their domain.

Official historiography of the Komnenian period

The main Byzantine sources shedding light on the history of the Komnenian period are here presented to the extent that they are relevant to our subject. Byzantine historiography of the 12th to the beginning of the 13th centuries presents the empire's stance on the Cilician Armenian principality in greater detail since the eastern policy of the empire collided with neighboring Cilicia and the Muslim states, and that much more frequently. The works of the Byzantine historians Anna Komnene, Ioannis Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates are most important in this regard; they represent the official response in Byzantine historiography to ongoing historical events, including a multilateral analysis of the Komnenian emperors' role in them. Being the contemporaries of the Cilician Armenian principality, the aforementioned authors continued analyzing the events that were of prime concern to them.

Anna Komnene (1081–1153), one of the best representatives of Byzantine historiography, narrated the history of the Byzantine

Empire during the reign of her father Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118)²⁴. Her work was written in the '30s to '40s of the 12th century and during the initial years of Manuel I Komnenos as a continuation of the narrative left incomplete by her untimely-gone husband Nikephoros Vrienos. Scholars long-ago observed that, describing the reforms of Alexios I, Anna lauded his all-national mission as if indirectly opposed to infamous (in her opinion) policies of her brother John II Komnenos and his son Manuel I. That is why her work was aptly nicknamed "The Alexiad". For Anna Komnene the reign of her father had been the brightest period in Byzantine history. Her work is a mixture of childhood memories, various conversations overheard by her during her life at the court, and impressions of a princess born in the purple. The passages where this learned lady falls under the influence of ancient Greek authors and their characters²⁵ speak of her knowledge and the peculiarities of a Byzantine education²⁶. However, without this work it is impossible to discuss the details of the Byzantine eastern policy in the period of John II and Manuel I Komnenos; or to study the far-fetched expansionist campaigns of these emperors that carried out

²⁴ See the last publication of the Greek original with parallel French translation in: *Anna Comnène. Alexiade* (règne de l'empereur Alexis I Comnène 1081–1118) / Texte établi et traduit par B. Leib, t. I–III, Paris, 1945–1947. We used the Greek original published by Dukange with Latin translation in Migne, PG, t. 131, pp. 59–1307 and Schopenus (CSHB, Bonn, 1839). English translation: *Anna Comnena, The Alexiad* / translated by Elisabeth A. S. Dawes, London 1928; reprinted Cambridge, Ontario, 2000. More often the Russian translation was used: *Anna Komnina, Aleksjada* / Introduction, Russian translation and notes by J.N. Ljubarskij, Moscow, 1965.

²⁵ H. Hunger rightly labels Anna Komnene's work "...daß große byzantinische Prosa-Epos über Kaiser Alexios I., die Alexias"; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantinischer*, Bd. 1, München, 1978, S. 404.

²⁶ Michael Italikus' "Panegyric" to be discussed below is the best reflection of this mindset.

(with some adjustments) the policies of Alexios I to recover the Minor Asian and North Syrian provinces.

"The Alexiad", describing the eastern military campaigns of Alexios I and revealing the principles of his diplomatic approaches, is also a very important source for the history of the Armenian population in the Balkan Peninsula during the 11th–12th centuries: concerning issues with their religious affiliation and the activity of the Byzantine and sometimes Armenian civil and military authorities. It contains official documents such as the treaty of Devol, signed in 1108 between Bohemond of Antioch and Alexios I. These enable scholars to penetrate the depths of the oecumenical eastern policy of the Byzantine Empire on the eve of their military campaign into Cilicia and North Syria, planned by John II Komnenos (1136–1138). That treaty had long been referred to by historians as justification for the expansionist policy of the twelfth-century Byzantine emperors²⁷. It was the first Byzantine legal document to specify the political status of the Cilician princes Toros and Levon. Anna Komnene was alive until the 25th year of Manuel I Komnenos's reign. The work of the Constantinople princess abounds with mentions of Armenians represented in almost every social layer of the multinational and multi-layered Byzantine population. We see Armenians of noble descent (the Arsacids, the Bacureans, the Rubenids, etc.)²⁸ being the highest dignitaries in

²⁷ According to the twelfth-century historian Michael the Syrian. "He (John) marched against Antioch but failed to capture it. Joscelin approached him and signed an agreement with him on condition that King John would give the regions of Syria, meaning Aleppo and others, to the Franks. In addition, the Franks would give him Antioch according to the pledge they made to his father Alexius (Comnenus)". See *The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (The Great): A Universal History from the Creation*, translated by Matti Moosa, Teaneck, NJ, 2014, p. 656.

²⁸ Anna Komnina, XIV, 8, pp. 321–322, 369–370; On the Aspiet families see:

public service. According to Anna Komnene a mass of Armenians (mentioned name by name as heretics) resided in Constantinople²⁹ and in Philippopolis (pres. Plovdiv), Thrace³⁰. She tells about the Armenians fighting alongside the troops of Fatimid Egypt against the First Crusade³¹ as well as Paulician and Manichaean heretics (presumably including Armenians³²) captured and enslaved by the emperor in the Balkans. In her view, based on the centuries-long experience of the Byzantine Empire, Armenians might be either followers of the Byzantine³³ or the independent national non-Chalcedonian church, and might be living within or outside the Byzantine territories. Many among the Armenian population of Constantinople and Philippopolis were non-Chalcedonians³⁴, perhaps followers of the official Armenian Church; though, according to the historian, many followers of Paulician and Manichaean teaching were in hiding in the city of Philippopolis (where the Armenian followers of the non-Chalcedonian Jacobite heresy³⁵ also resided). It is worth emphasizing that although Anna Komnene details a number of important events relating to the history of the Crusader state of Antioch, she is not fully aware of the situation in

A.P. Kajdan, *Armjane v sostave gospodstvujushego klassa vizantijskoj imperii v XI–XII vv.*, Erevan, 1975, pp. 43–46; G. Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs Musulmans et Croisés. Etude sur les pouvoirs Arméniens dans le Proche-Orient méditerranéen (1068–1150)*, volume 2: de l'Euphrate au Nil: Le Réseau diasporique, Lisabonne, 2003, pp. 695–704.

²⁹ Anna Komnina, X, 1, p. 265:

³⁰ Anna Komnina, XIV, p. 8:

³¹ Anna Komnina, IX, 7, p. 307.

³² Anna Komnina, XIV, 8, p. 39: "καὶ μετὰ μάχης ἡνδραποδίσσατο".

³³ Grigor Bakurian (Gregorios Bakourianos), the Arshakuni Aspietai and others represent members of the above group. See Anna Komnina, II, 4, p. 97.

³⁴ Anna Komnina, X, 1, p. 265.

³⁵ Anna Komnina, XIV, 8, pp. 395–396.

the Armenian principalities established in Cilicia and adjoining regions.

The history of the reign of the two successors of Alexios I – John II and Manuel I Komnenos – is narrated by John (Ioannis) Kinnamos³⁶, Royal Chancellor (ὁ βασιλικὸς γραμματικὸς) of the Manuel I period. His work, sometimes referred to by historians as “Brief (ἐπιτομή) History”³⁷ or more often just “History”³⁸ is preserved in a unique manuscript, which was later repeatedly copied. The original text of the “History” is abruptly interrupted at the events of 1176 as if cutting off the historian in mid-sentence³⁹. Briefly outlining the period of John II Komnenos’s reign⁴⁰, Ioannis Kinnamos continues on to a detailed narrative of the time of Manuel I. Here he lengthily informs about certain problems in the eastern policy of the empire; describes the campaigns undertaken by John II and Manuel I Komnenoi against Cilicia and North Syria; mentions the Byzantine officials ruling in Cilicia, as well as the most important diplomatic undertakings of the second half of the 12th century. At the same time he keeps silent about a number of

³⁶ A. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, v. 2, Oxford, 1991, p. 1130.

³⁷ Ioannis Cinnami, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio (sic!) Comnenis gestarum* / Ad fidem codicis Vaticani recensuit Augustus Meineke, Bonnæ 1836: Along with the Greek original we have also used the Russian translation of that work. See: Ioann Kinnam, *Kratkoe obozrenie carstvovaniia Ioanna i Manuila Komninov (1118–1180)* / translation from Greek edited by V.N. Karpov, SPb., 1859.

³⁸ See P. Wirth, *Zur Frage nach dem authentischen Titel von Johannes Kinnamos’ Geschichtswerk*, *Byzantion*, t. 41, 1971. S. 375–377.

³⁹ M.M. Freidenberg, *Trud Ioanna Kinnama kak istoričeskij istočnik*, VV, t. XVI (1959), p. 30.

⁴⁰ H. Hunger explains: “Allein, der barocke Titel zeigt, daß sich ἐπιτομή nur auf die Regierung Johannes’ II. bezieht, während der Hauptteil des Werkes als ἀφήγησις (narrative, – A.B.) bezeichnet wird” (H. Hunger, *ibid.*, Bd. I, S. 410).

events that took place in the ‘20s–‘30s that caused enmity between the empire and the Armenian principality of Cilicia. Then he proceeds to the details of the Cilician campaign of John II Komnenos in 1136–1138.

This information shows that during the three decades following the Devol treaty the Cilician Armenian principality had been expanding. During the reign of Levon I it already occupied the entire area of Lower Cilicia and Isauria, and even besieged Isauria’s capital Seleucia. In mentioning the events, the Byzantine historians Ioannis Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates seem to have at hand official reports sent from Cilicia and North Syria to the royal court of John II Komnenos: evidence of eye-witnesses and responses of other historians, upon which the public opinion in the empire was shaped. The public response to the above documents is mentioned in each of numerous Byzantine sources, especially those narrating about the campaigns of the emperors, and also in panegyrics written at that time. However there are quite a few data concerning Cilicia, its population and its rulers, since Byzantine possession of these areas was indisputable fact for Ioannis Kinnamos. This is evidenced by official records testifying about the campaigns of John II and Manuel I and names of Byzantine governors ruling in the region at that time.

The narrative of the later historical events, politicians, and policies of the period is recounted by the junior contemporary of Ioannis Kinnamos – Niketas Choniates, a noted Byzantine political figure and a prolific historian from the end of the 12th to the beginning of the 13th centuries. Niketas Choniates occupied various high-ranking positions during the reign of the last three Komnenian emperors (Manuel I, Alexius II and Andronikus I), and then he served Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195). Later, at the time of the Third Crusade he was appointed a ruler of Philippopolis (today’s Plovdiv), Thrace. He stated (with the indignation of an eye-

witness) that, in defiance of the Byzantine authorities, the Armenian population of the city opened the gates of Philippopolis to the armies of the German emperor Frederick I Barbarossa⁴¹. His contacts with the multi-layered Armenian population of Philippopolis and his attitude towards Armenians are described in his *Historia*, private letters and numerous speeches⁴². His ideas of the Armenian “heresy” expounded in the “Πανοπλία δογματική”, were probably deeply influenced by the above-mentioned event, even as he reflects on traditional Byzantine perspectives conditioned by dogmatic concepts and liturgical differences vis-à-vis the Armenian Apostolic Church⁴³. According to Niketas Choniates: “Entering Philippopolis [Frederick Barbarossa – A.B.] found it almost totally deserted since more- or less-lawful inhabitants had fled from there, and if someone remained, it was either a pauper, whose property consisted of his clothes, or an Armenian. Actually only Armenians considered the arrival of Germans to be, not an invasion of nations, but a friendly visit, since they had trading deals with the Germans and mutual understanding on numerous heretical teachings. Thus the Armenians and Germans equally deny the worship of icons, both use unleavened bread during the holy liturgy and, deviating from the straight way, do, as a rule, have other [habits – A.B], which are denied by Orthodox⁴⁴ Christians”⁴⁵.

The capture of Philippopolis is described otherwise by the

German chronicler of the Third Crusade, Ansbert, in whose work the Armenians are named “the true friends of the victorious emperor” (*per Armenios fideiiores victoriosimo imperatori*) Frederick Barbarossa⁴⁶. The prevalent opinion regarding Armenians at the end of the 12th century is expressed by Niketas Choniates in the words “Disguised Armenian” (βαθύς Ἀρμένιος)⁴⁷ – as though pronounced by emperor Andronikos I Komnenos about the patriarch Theodosios I Boradiotes, whom he was in conflict with, implying that the latter was ethnic Armenian. As known from other sources, since the end of the 12th century onwards, it was not rare to use force towards the Constantinople and Balkan Armenians, requiring them to leave the Armenian Church and convert to Chalcedonian Orthodoxy.

After the Sack of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 and wandering for a while in various Byzantine provinces, Niketas Choniates settled (in 1206/1207) at the Laskaris court in the new Byzantine capital of Nicaea. There he resided until 1216 and finished his “*Historia*”. Interesting information is contained in Letter XI, penned by Niketas Choniates concerning the marriage of the Byzantine emperor Theodoros I Laskaris to Cilician princess Philippina in 1213. This official letter of Theodoros I Laskaris (as mentioned in the title), addressed to Basil Kamateros in October of

⁴¹ See *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, recensuit *Ioannes Aloysius van Dieten*, Pars I, Berolini et Novi Eboraci, 1975, p. 403. 71–81 (CFHB, vol. XI/1).

⁴² *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae*, recensuit *Ioannes Aloysius van Dieten*, Apud Walter de Gruyter et Socios, Berolini et Novi Eboraci, 1972 (CFHB, vol. III); *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, v. 1, p. 428.

⁴³ See *Migne*, PG, t. 139, p. 1101; t. 140, p. 292.

⁴⁴ The historian meant the followers of the Byzantine Church.

⁴⁵ See *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, p. 403. 71–81. See also *Nicita Xoniat*, *Istorija* / Translation edited by prof. *I. Dolickij*, t. II, p. 6.

⁴⁶ *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Frederichs I.* / herausgegeben von *A. Chroust*, Berlin 1964², S. 48 [Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, nova series, tomus V]; for the detailed discussion of the problem see: *A. Bozoyan*, *Documents...*, pp. 216–221.

⁴⁷ *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, p. 253: The same wording is met in the “History of the capture of Thessalonica” by the twelfth-century chronicler Archbishop Eustathios of Thessalonica (*Eustathii Archiepiscopi de capta Thessalonica Narratio*, in *Leonis Grammatici, Chronographia, ex recognitione Immanuelis Bekkeri*, accredit *Eustathii de capta Thessalonica Liber*, Bonnae, 1842, p. 253).

1213⁴⁸, delegates him to Sis to escort the bride to the empire administered from its court in Nicaea.

Niketas Choniates begins his *Historia* with the death of Alexios I (1118) and ends with the events of 1206. According to F. Chalandon, the *Historia* relating to the period of the reigns of John II and Manuel I Komnenoi was written within 1183–1204⁴⁹. After long debates Byzantinists came to the conclusion that Niketas Choniates was familiar with and probably made use of the history of Ioannis Kinnamos⁵⁰. Nevertheless, this hypothesis is true only for the period of John II Komnenos. It should be considered that there are deviations both in the description and choice of events that took place under Manuel I, and, especially, in each historian's assessment of the facts⁵¹. It is also obvious that, having been an eye-witness to the sack of Constantinople in 1204, Niketas Choniates looked at the entire history of the 12th century from that perspective. Searching for the main causes of the 1204 breakdown of Byzantium after the Fourth Crusade, Niketas Choniates blamed the short-sighted policy of the last three emperors (as opposed to Kinnamos, who praised the heroic activity of Manuel I), going so far as sarcastically mocking Manuel or diminishing the political role of that emperor.⁵² A few dozen of Niketas Choniates's speeches, published by J. van Ditten, play an important role in his

⁴⁸ See Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae, pp. 216–217.

⁴⁹ F. Chalandon, Les Comnènes, t. II (1), p. XXIV.

⁵⁰ V. Grecu, Niketae Choniatisa-t-il connu l'histoire de Jean Cinnamos ? REB, t. VII, f. 2, 1950, pp. 194–204; H. Hunger, Die hochsprachliche..., Bd. 1, S. 410; A.P. Kajdan, Ešče raz o Kinname i Nikite Xoniate, Byzantino-Slavica, XXIV.1, 1963, pp. 4–31.

⁵¹ A.P. Kajdan, Ešče raz..., p. 30.

⁵² See N. Grossu, Otnošenija vizantijskix imperatorov Ioanna II (1118–1143) i Manuila II (1143–1180) Komninov k voprosu ob unii s zapadom, Trudy Kievskoj duxovnoj Akademii (separatum), 1912, p. 15.

historiographic legacy. Thus, his discourse XVIII, which was written during his rule in Philippopolis, provides interesting information about the “heretical” Armenian population of the city⁵³. The works of Niketas Choniates seem to embrace two different epochs in Byzantine history, separated by the Fourth Crusade: the Capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders and the establishment of the Latin Empire in 1204. His works are also interesting because the Cilician Armenian kingdom was officially recognized during his lifetime, which is indirectly attested in the letter to Basil Kamateros sent to Cilicia as an envoy⁵⁴.

Historiography of the Laskaris and Palaiologos periods

Chronologically the next author providing information about the relations between the Cilician Armenian state and the Byzantine Empire is George Acropolites. His narrative (supplementing Armenian sources) contains additional information on Philippa, the second wife of Theodoros I Laskaris, proclaimed empress of Byzantium in 1214, and her offspring⁵⁵. This information is complementary to the archival document of the Constantinople Patriarchate on her short-lived marriage (to be discussed below). Notably, while continuing the work of Niketas Choniates, George Acropolites brought his history up to the events of 1261, beyond which he maintained silence about the further relations with Cilician Armenia⁵⁶; noethless, without his continuation it would have been

⁵³ See Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae, pp. 192–196.

⁵⁴ See idid., p. 216.

⁵⁵ See P.I. Žavoronkov, Iz istorii nikejsko-kilikijskix otnošenii v pervoi polovine XIII v., Antičnye drevnosti i srednye veka [ADSV], t. 30, Sverdlovsk, 1999, pp. 209–215; Cf. P.I. Žavoronkov, Nikejsko-latinskije i nikejsko-seljdžukskije otnošenija v 1211–1216 gg., VV, t. 37, M. 1976, pp. 48–61.

⁵⁶ See P.I. Žavoronkov, Nikejskaja imperija i Vostok (Vzaimootnošenija s Ikonijskim sultanatom, tataro-mongolami i kilikijskoj Armeniej) v 40–50-e gody

difficult to understand the Minor Asian foreign policy of the Empire administered from Nicaea. His history contains the names of some individuals, mainly Byzantine army commanders of Armenian descent⁵⁷. Curiously, neither George Acropolites nor any other source of the 13th century mentions the ecclesial diplomatic relations that were so important in the previous period; though they are reflected in the preserved Greek letters of the Patriarchs Germanos II and Manuel II and in a few references in Armenian historiography.

The fourteenth-century historian Nikephoros Gregoras also hinted to the Armenian background of the queen consort of emperor Michael IX Palaiologos (1295–1320) Maria (known also as Ritha-Xenia)⁵⁸. This marriage, as well as Theodoros I Laskaris's marriage to Philippa in 1214, should have been recorded in a document that has not yet reached us⁵⁹. Most likely the Byzantine patriarch Isaias (1323–1334) renewed efforts to initiate negotiations with Levon IV and the Cilician Catholicosate on church union during Maria's lifetime.

Nikephoros Gregoras was also cognizant of the close relative of Maria (erroneously called "her paternal cousin" –A.B.) Gui de Lusignan (Gim the Armenian), also known as Guido. Thus, while writing about the events of 1342 he says that Guido came to Cons-

tantinople from Armenia 24 years prior. Information on Guido Lusignan's activity in the Byzantine Empire is also provided by his political opponent, another Byzantine historian, statesman, and emperor in his own right, John VI Kantakouzenos. The latter names Guido Lusignan (Συργῆ δὲ Λεζιάνο), calling him a Cypriot and adding that emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328–1341) appointed Guido, who was the son of his mother's sister, the "Strategos/Commander of the West" (τῆς ἐσπέρας στρατηγός)⁶⁰. Nikephoros Gregoras also specifies the geographical location of the estates of "the son of the emperor's uncle on mother's side" [*sic*], Gim the Armenian, in Byzantium: "Settlements surrounding the town of Sierre and up to Chistopolis"⁶¹. Later Guido Lusignan, who was the commander of the Macedonian army, joined the 1341 revolt against the regency of John VI Kantakouzenos (who later was proclaimed emperor, 1347–1354)⁶². Not long after the revolt, in 1342 Guido Lusignan left for Armenia since (according to the Byzantine historian) the Armenians had invited him to reign in their country⁶³. Based on the narrative of Nikephoros Gregoras, Bartikyan tried to establish that Guido Lusignan was a follower of the Armenian Apostolic and not the Catholic Church⁶⁴.

XIII v.), VV, t. 39, Moscow, 1978, pp. 93–101.

⁵⁷ See P.I. Žavoronkov, *Nekotorye aspekty mirovoztrenija Georgija Akropolita*, VV, t. 47, p. 130.

⁵⁸ See Nikephorus Gregoras *Byzantina Historia: Graece et Latine*, cura Ludovici Schopeni, Bonnae, 1829, vol. I, p. 283.

⁵⁹ A. Gardiner, *The Lascarids of Nicaea: The Story of an Empire in Exile*, London 1912; reprinted Amsterdam 1964, pp. 87–88, surmises that Theodoros divorced Philippa after discovering that she was not the daughter of Leo I but his niece, and sent her with the child born late in 1214 (Constantine Laskaris) back to Sis.

⁶⁰ See Ioannis Cantacuzeni ex imperatoris Historiarum libri IV / cura Ludovici Schopeni, vol. I, Bonnae, 1828, p. 476.

⁶¹ Nicephorus Gregoras *Byzantina Historia*, vol. I, p. 283. Differing from Gregoras, Ioannis Kantakouzenos speaking about the events of 1341, names Guido Lusignan the prince of Ferre. In Bartikyan's opinion Ioannis Kantakouzenos was right, even though there seems to be some ambiguity in the comments.

⁶² Ioannis Cantacuzeni *Historiarum libri IV*, vol. II, p. 283.

⁶³ See Ioannis Cantacuzeni, vol. II, p. 292: Cf. Vol. I, pp. 288–289.

⁶⁴ See H.M. Bartikyan, *Gvidon Lusinyanē Byuzandiyum ew Kilikyan Hayastanum...*, pp. 140–141. The issue calls for further study.

Historical-eulogistic/panegyric works

The historical events of the 12th century were also reflected in the panegyrics written in verse or prose that lauded the Byzantine emperors' campaigns toward neighboring countries. Discernible among them are the works of Theodoros Prodromos and Michael Italicos, written for the Byzantine elite and probably read in public during court gatherings. While mentioning ten campaigns of John Komnenos to the Danishmend Emirate in one of his works, Theodoros Prodromos also includes his Cilician campaign of 1136–1138⁶⁵. A special place among these eulogies belongs to the "Panegyric" by Michael Italicos, delivered on the occasion of the coronation of Manuel I in 1143. It was discovered by P. Lamma in the University of Bologna's Manuscript collection under number 2412,⁶⁶ and published by Franca Fusco⁶⁷. The passages from the original text "representing historical interest" were translated into Armenian by Bartikyan in 1984, whose interesting research and commentaries invited Armenologists' attention to the importance of Michael Italicos' "Panegyric" for studying the history of Armenian statehood⁶⁸. Michael Italicos was a noted Byzantine cleric, orator and philosopher from the first half of the 12th century who

⁶⁵ See PG, t. 133, pp. 1362–1370; cf. A. Bozoyan, *Eastern Policy of Byzantium and Cilician Armenia...*, p. 70.

⁶⁶ Lamma P., *La spedizione di Giovanni Comneno in Cilicia ed in Syria in un Panegirico inedito di Michele Italico*, *Memorie della Accademia dell'escienze di Bologna. Classe di scienze morali ser. V, vol. 6*, Bologna, 1952, pp. 5–28 = Lamma P., *Oriente e Occidente nell' Alto Medioevo*, Padova, 1968, pp. 339–367.

⁶⁷ Franca Fusco, *Il Panegirico di Michele Italico per Giovanni Comneno*, *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, том. ΛΖ, Ἀθήναι, 1969–1970, σελ. 146–169.

⁶⁸ H.M. Bartikyan, *Mik'ayel Italikosi «Nerboṭyanē» ew Kilikiayi Hayoc' arajin t'agavori xndirē* (The "Panegyric" by Michael Italicos and the Issue of the First Armenian King). HPI, 1984, 4, pp. 216–229.

profoundly mastered Latin and Greek literature of antiquity, widely using examples from Classical and Christian sources in his works. The said Panegyric praised the victories won in 1136–1138 by John II Komnenos in the course of his campaigns in Cilicia and Syria. In that poem, the Byzantine writer's assessments of and hints to the personality of Prince Levon I Rubenid and the state created by him, are quite interesting. Unfortunately there are no other similar sources which would directly tell of Cilician Armenia, though Armenians and their faith are mentioned by numerous Byzantine chroniclers, including Nicolaos Mesarites⁶⁹ and others.

Next we shall try to summarize the data from Byzantine sources on the Cilician Armenian state and its direct contacts with neighboring states.

⁶⁹ Nicolaos Mesarites, *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople*, ed. and tr. G. Downey, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, held at Philadelphia for promoting useful knowledge, n.s. 47, part 6 (1957), pp. 855–924; see particularly pages 859 and 904. This work written in 1198–1203, along with the description of the Holy Apostles Church in Constantinople mentions St. Bartholomew of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

2. CILICIAN ARMENIA AS PERCEIVED BY THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE (KOMNENOI PERIOD)

After Alexios I Komnenos (1080–1118) came to power, the Byzantine Empire gradually began to recover. Taking advantage of the favorable political situation in the wake of the First Crusade, Byzantium restored its presence in the region. It tried – through an alliance with, or rather by means of the Rubenid princes of Cilicia – to dislodge the Latin state of Antioch from the country's low-lying regions. Thus the first-ever mention of the two Rubenid brothers in Byzantine historiography (and generally in any foreign document) is contained in the Treaty of Devol (1108) where princes Toros and Levon were named the Byzantine vassals in Cilicia or literally “γεγονότων ἀνθρώπων τοῦ κράτους ὑμῶν”¹. The Treaty of Devol was concluded between Bohemond of Antioch (or of Taranto) and Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos. Pursuant to that treaty, the Norman lord of Sicily, who was also the ruler of the Crusader state of Antioch, gave a vassal oath to Alexios I Komnenos and his son, crown prince John. Contrary to the principle “the vassal of my vassal is not my vassal” ruling in feudal Europe, all vassals of Bohemond of Antioch had to recognize (according to this unique document) the supremacy of the Byzantine Empire and swear an oath of loyalty to the emperor and crown-prince. Those in the east (within the territory of the Latin principality of Antioch) needed to swear to an official sent there by the empire. In conforming with the treaty and oaths of loyalty to Byzantium, Bohemond was obligated to recognize the impregnability territory of Mountainous Cilicia – the domain of princes Toros and Levon, being (per the treaty) vassals of the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine term ἀνθρώπος frequently found in Byzantine historiography

¹ See Migne, PG, t. 131, p. 1016.

alongside the Latin term *lige* - λίζιον (Arm. լիճ), has been discussed in literature (Leibe, Ferluga, Dedeyan) with all of its likely synonyms² and is currently translated by scholars as ‘vassal-feudatory-subject’.

According to that international treaty, Bohemond undertook to restore the entire area of Lower Cilicia located between the Cydnus and Hermon (Pyramos) rivers to the empire: “Τό τε θέμα τὸ Ποδανδὸν καὶ Λογγινίας καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὸ στρατηγάτον τῆς Ταρσοῦ πόλεως καὶ ἡ Ἄδανα πόλις καὶ αἱ τοῦ Μόψουεστίας ἡ Ἀνάβαρζα καὶ συνελόντα φάναι, χώρα πᾶσα τῆς Κιλικίας, ὅσῃν ὁ Κύδνος καὶ ὁ Ἑρμών περιορίζουσιν”³ (“The military themata of Podandon and Longinias, as well as the entire military district of the cities of Tarson, Adana, Mopsuestia and Anavarza; in a word, all the regions of Cilicia located between the Cydnus and Hermon rivers”). It meant that the major part of Lower Cilicia including the military themata of Podandon and Longinia with the cities Tarson, Adana, Mopsuestia and Anavarza should have passed into Byzantine control already in 1108. Unfortunately Byzantine sources of the time do not specify any town or settlement as the fiefdom of Toros and Levon, nor contain any evidence of their principality's borders. So the scholars interested in Cilicia have to reconstruct the initial geographical location of the Rubenid principality and specify its boundaries based on information provided mainly by later Armenian sources. According to Armenian, Syriac and Arabic sources, until the '30s of the 12th century the Rubenid Armenian principality of Cilicia lay in the mountainous basin of the Saros River flowing down from the Taurus range.

² See G. Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens ...*, Volume 1: *Aux origines de l'État Cilicien: Philarete et les premiers Roubeniens*, Lisbonne, 2003, pp. 478–482.

³ See E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 369 bis 1071*, Bruxelles 1935, p. 128.

The Byzantines considered that region to be an integral part of the Empire and its princes their loyal servants or vassals. This is evidenced by a Byzantine lead seal kept at the State Hermitage, which, in Shandrovskaya's opinion, belonged to prince Toros I Rubenid – whose Byzantine honorary title was *sebastos*⁴. The same title is mentioned in an Armenian inscription of prince Toros I on the St. Zoravar Church in Anavarza, published by Father L. Ališan⁵. In an Armenian source written in that century the same prince is given the title of *protosebastos*⁶, which is reminiscent of later period Byzantine nomenclature. It seems the author of this specific testimony had attributed the title of Toros II to his paternal uncle. In the '70s to '80s of the 12th century the Byzantines awarded these honored titles to the successors (*payazats*) of both the Rubenid and Hetumid princely houses. Notably the echo of the Treaty of Devol, quoted in Anna Komnene's "Alexiad," had also perpetuated the expression "the country of Toros" or "the country of Levon," found in contemporaneous and later Armenian, Syriac and Arabic sources (see the works of Matthew of Edessa, Vahram

⁴ See V.S. Šandrovskaja, K istorii armjano-vizantijskix otnošenij XII v. (Po dannym sfragistiki), *Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri* (Herald of the Social Sciences), 1974 (4), pp. 36–40.

⁵ See L. Ališan, Sisuan. hamagrut'iwn haykakan Kilikiy ew Lewon Mecagorc (Sisuan: Compendium about Armenian Cilicia and Levon Metsagorts), Venice 1885, p. 239.

⁶ Cf. the original text of the «Hamarōt patmut'yun Rubinean išxanac'» ("Brief History of the Rubenid Princes"); see «Samuel qahanayi Anec'woy Hawaqmunk' i groc' patmagrac' yałags giwti žamanakac' anc'eloc' minč'ew i nerkayis», cayrak'al arareal arajabanov, hamematut'eamb, yaveluacov ew canot'agrut'yunnerov A. Ter-Mik'ēleani ("Collectanea from the Writings of Historians on Encounters from Past Times to the Present, by the Priest Samuel of Ani," edited with introduction, comparative texts, addenda and annotation by A. Ter-Mikaelyan), Vagharshapat, 1893, annex IV, p. 214.

Rabuni, Usama ibn Munqiz, Michael the Syrian, Anonymous of Edessa, et al.)⁷.

In the course of the 12th century the Cilician princes who were gaining strength began to jockey for independence, which was finally obtained at the end of the century. That struggle inevitably led to collision of the Rubenids' interests with those of the Byzantine Empire. Accordingly, under the influence of these developments, the official stance of the Byzantine Empire towards the Cilician Armenian state and its rulers was shaped and reflected in Byzantine historiography and literature.

In this respect, the most distinguishable Byzantine eulogy is the "Panegyric" written by the famed Michael Italicos in connection with John II Komnenos' Cilician campaign of 1136–1138. According to the specialists, the "Panegyric" was written in Constantinople no later than 1139, immediately after the mentioned campaign (though some of its passages seem to be direct responses to certain events in that period). Based on this source H. Bartikyan tried, for the first time in Armenology, to show that prince Levon I Rubenid (1129–1137) "proclaimed himself a king of Armenians and his land a kingdom, a revived Arsacid kingdom, put on a crown and red royal shoes."⁸ Be that as it may, by gathering information from this "Panegyric", Bartikyan proved that in the '30s of the 12th century prince Levon I had been trying to gain independence from the Byzantine Empire, which was realized by the end of his political career. John II Komnenos and the Byzantine elite managed to suppress the Armenian revolt in the bud, thus temporarily suspending the restoration of Armenian statehood in Cilicia; a

⁷ See the article by V. Ter-Ghevondian included in this collection.

⁸ H.M. Bartikyan, Mik'ayel Italikosi «Nerbołyanč» ew Kilikiayi Hayoc arajin t'agavori xndirč (Michael Italicos' Panegyric and the Question of the First Armenian King of Cilicia), *HPJ*, 1984, 4, pp. 219–220.

region considered to be the possession of the Empire for centuries. It came to officially recognize Cilicia only at the end of the century, in 1198/1199 when the royal power of Levon Metzagortz was recognized by the Pope of Rome and the Western Roman (German) Empire.

The "Panegyric" belongs to the collection of "historical" works which reflect the Byzantine elite's opinion regarding the Cilician Armenian principality. Of course we have to stress that this work, written in accordance with all the canons of classical rhetoric, was primarily a eulogy praising the activity of John II Komnenos: especially his latest feats in the warfare with Cilicia and North Syria. To laud the exploits of his hero (John II Komnenos) Michael Italicos spared no rhetorical means; resorting to various classical and biblical parallels, including comparison with historical (Alexander the Great, Pompeos, Lucullus) and mythological figures (Athenas Pallas, Zeus) and heroes (Heracles, Achilles, Perseus), while calling him the Savior of Israel, Destroyer of Pharaoh, and God's angel. According to Michael Italicos "God can shake the firmament by an earthquake and the king moves the land by his devices...."⁹ Classical and biblical traditions and styles are masterfully intertwined in the Panegyric.

According to Michael Italicos the news via reports reaching the capital of the emperor's feats in North Syria and Cilicia were told at mass rallies in Constantinople, inspiring the people¹⁰. These lines suggest that from time to time the authorities had been trying to influence public opinion about the country's political elite through eloquent speeches: where laudable, good and righteous deeds (from the imperial point of view) were upheld as moral virtues against the opposite vices. In these circumstances, the good

and righteous was the Byzantine side (in the person of the emperor) while his adversaries, with who the emperor was in a just war, embodied the evil and immoral. When presenting Levon I as the founder of the independent Cilician principality, Michael Italicos resorts to casuistry and defamation. He names him "βασιλίσκος" a Greek word with a dubious meaning: "a small (low) king, kingling" and "a basilisk/viper, asp", compares the emperor with an eagle floating in the sky whose stinker enemies (basilisks – asp, lion and dragon) are trampled, immediately adding a quote from Psalm 90:13 where he also dubiously plays up the word "λέων - λέοντα" (lion) hinting to the name of a Rubenid prince. At the same time the Byzantine writer informs that the defenders of the Cilician principality belong to "the Arsacid clan", which is "the mightiest and more irreconcilable and uncompromising than any other clan, their army is combat trained and has withstood the Persians and Romans and brought Pompeus to total destruction"¹¹. This passage suggesting that Michael Italicos considered the defenders of Cilicia to be the representatives of the Arsacid dynasty, served as a base for Bartikyan's conclusion that Levon I proclaimed himself an Arsacid. Yet the opinion of scholars still seems more likely "being well aware that to emphasize the vigor and 'heroism' of John Komnenos, to elevate his idol, to raise and emphasize the significance of the emperor's victory the orator should also elevate his adversary."¹² That is why Michael Italicos adds immediately after the cited passage: "But contrary to that they suffered a shameful defeat from your lance."¹³ For that very reason the mention of Arsacids in Italicos's work may be considered merely a literary device tightly connected with the revival of the norms of

⁹ Ibid., p. 222.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 221.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 223.

¹² Ibid., p. 219.

¹³ Ibid., p. 223.

Macedonian period Byzantium, best grounded by the revival of the Byzantine traditions connected with the coronation of Basil I the Macedonian¹⁴.

The next episode of the Panegyric clearly indicates that Michael Italicos and Ioannis Kinnamos used one and the same common source, which has not reached us. This is evidenced by the story of Cilician fighters setting the Byzantine catapults on fire and the resourcefulness displayed in avoiding that disaster¹⁵. Although Michael Italicos attributed such creativity to the emperor, Ioannis Kinnamos considered Isaac, the son of John Komnenos to be the originator of the idea to cover the catapults with mudbricks, adding another detail: the said event happened during the defense of Anavarza¹⁶. Perhaps this phrase is addressed to Levon Rubenid: "But where are you running turning your back? a rebel and a tyrant, so-called (false) monarch (ψευδώνυμε βασιλεὺς)"¹⁷ as another element of rhetorical emphasis. The term 'basileus' here seems to underscore its traditional understanding as a title conferred on the emperors of Constantinople only. For all other eastern rulers the Byzantine authors almost exclusively used the Latin term *rex* / ῥέξ, recurring in numerous sources.

Insurrection against the sovereign and cooperation with his enemies were considered the gravest crimes in the Byzantine legal practice. Thus, according to Michael Italicos, Levon Rubenid's actions fully qualified as crimes. For a cleric like Michael Italicos¹⁸ and the Byzantine elite, the Armenian subjects of the Cilician principality and Prince Levon I himself were "barbarians", the

"followers of Dioscorus and companions of Severus"¹⁹. This wording was intended to arouse antipathy in the orthodox Byzantines towards the Christian followers of those "heresies"; and although the Armenian Church had anathematized the heresy of Dioscorus from the very beginning, that fact was muted by the Byzantine authors. The danger of the Armenian heresy and even its ties to Jewish customs were emphasized in the works of Euthimios Zigabenos (or Zigadenos)²⁰ and Anna Komnene, written at the turn of the 11th–12th centuries. However, contemporaries and the Byzantine court were much more concerned with the fact of Levon's proclaiming himself a king and appropriating the royal insignia (the diadem and red shoes). Their concern referred rather to disloyalty towards the vassal obligations on behalf of Prince Levon I and his assistance to the empire's political opponents by means of alliances with the Danishmend Emirate and the Latin principality of Antioch²¹. However, though at times Cilicia allied with the Danishmend Emirate and Antioch, we can hardly imagine a situation which would enable the Rubenid prince to officially deny the Byzantine supremacy during his rule (1129–1136). Michael Italicos qualified Levon's stance as "arrogant" and "impudent". Nevertheless, the panegyrist hushed up a very important fact that Isaac, the brother of John II Komnenos, also participated in the anti-Byzantine alliance of the Iconian Sultanate, the Danishmend Emirate and

¹⁹ H.M. Bartikyan, *Michael Italicus* ..., p. 221.

²⁰ In recent philological works his name is corrected to Zigadenos, see **Andreas Papavasileou**, Εὐθύμιος Ἰωάννης Ζυγάδενος - Βίος, Ζυγγραφαί, Λεθκοσία 1970, pp. 16–21; cf. the doctoral thesis of Miladinova N. on classical philology **N. Miladinova**, *Panoplia Dogmatikē: a study on the antiheretical anthology of Euthymios Zygadenos in the Post-Byzantine Period*, Leuven, Budapest, 2010, p. vi.

²¹ See also **A. Bozoyan**, *Eastern Policy of Byzantium...*, pp. 99–109.

¹⁴ See **G. Dagron**, *Empereur et prêtre. Etudes sur le "césaropapisme" byzantine* (Bibliothèque des Histoires), Gallimard, Paris, 1996.

¹⁵ H.M. Bartikyan, *Michael Italicus* ..., pp. 223–224.

¹⁶ **Ioannis Cinnami**, *Epitomae rerum...*, Bonnae, 1836, p. 17.

¹⁷ H.M. Bartikyan, *Michael Italicus* ..., p. 224.

¹⁸ In 1143 he was elected the metropolitan of Philippopolis.

the Cilician principality²².

We do believe that without strong foreign protection, the Rubenid principality would not have made such a decision. It remains to surmise that attempts at alliance with the Danishmend and the Antioch principality spited and concerned Byzantium so much that it decided to eliminate the Cilician Armenian principality from the region's political map at any price. It was considered by Byzantine politicians to be the major obstacle to enforcing the provisions of the Devol Treaty or Byzantine foreign policy. The empire demanded implicit obedience from the Armenian authorities of Cilicia without taking into account that its own forces were insufficient to protect the Cilician territory, which could not be reached other than by circumventing the Sultanate of Iconia and the Danishmend Emirate. The weakness of the Byzantine Empire became obvious immediately after the removal of the Byzantine troops from Cilicia in 1138, when the Sultanate of Iconia and the Danishmend Emirate invaded the Cilician Armenian principality. To save the political reputation of Byzantium John Komnenos was compelled to organize another campaign to Cilicia in 1143. A little later, in 1158 his son Manuel I had to officially recognize the restoration of the Rubenid principality by Toros II. The narrative of these events belongs to another Byzantine historian, Niketas Choniates.

After recounting the above-mentioned events, the official Byzantine historiography seems to gradually forget about Cilicia's existence. Byzantine historiography has preserved not even a hint about Armenian-Byzantine Church negotiations held in the '60s-'70s of the 12th century. The only mention in Byzantine sources of such negotiations and their objectives belongs to Theorianus the

Philosopher²³, delegated to the region as a negotiator by Manuel I Komnenos. As for the narrative of the diplomatic delegation headed by Nerses of Lambron to Constantinople in 1196, it is found in Armenian sources only²⁴. Probably after being defeated at the battle of Myriokephalum the empire understood that it was no longer able to interfere with North Syrian affairs and little by little forgot its claims on Cilicia. The official Byzantine historiography is silent on the further fate of Cilicia. This silence is at times broken by some imperial and patriarchal archived documents, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

²² Michel le Syrien, t. III, pp. 230–231. For more details on this alliance see: A. Bozoyan, *Eastern Policy of Byzantium* ..., pp. 85–88.

²³ See A. Bozoyan, *Documents of Armenian-Byzantine...*, pp. 142–161.

²⁴ Isabel Augé, *Eglise en dialogue: Arméniens et byzantins dans la seconde moitié du XII siècle*, Lovanii 2011, pp. 257–267. See also A. Terian, "To Byzantium with Love: The Overtures of Saint Nerses the Gracious," in *Armenian Cilicia*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian and Simon Payaslian, *UCLA Armenian Culture and History Series: Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces* 7, Costa Mesa, CA, 2008, pp. 131–151.

3. THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM OF CILICIA IN BYZANTINE IMPERIAL AND PATRIARCHAL DOCUMENTS (AN OVERVIEW)

The first document deriving from the Byzantine imperial court that cites the Armenian princely state of Cilicia was the peace treaty drawn by the Byzantine emperor Alexios I (1080–1118) and the Duke of Antioch Bohemond I (1098–1111) in 1107. A copy of this agreement is preserved in Anna Komnene's "The Alexiad". Contained in this document is a list of countries that accepted their vassalage to the Byzantine Empire. Among others, the Rubenid princes of Cilicia, Levon and Teodoros, who ruled in Cilicia on behalf of the Byzantine emperor, are mentioned in the document¹. Furthermore, the Cilician cities of Adana, Tarson, Anavarza and Mopsuestia – all located between the Cydnus and Hermon Rivers, and representing Byzantine power in the region – are listed as well². It seems as if until the Battle of Myriokephalon (1176), this document had been the only written source reflecting contemporary Byzantine perceptions of the Cilician princely state. This is very strange, especially taking into account that Cilicia was permanently disputed by local Rubenid princes³, the Latin lords of Antioch, the Rum Seljuq sultans and even Danishmandid rulers of Melitene (Malatya).

In the 1970s French Byzantinist Jean Darrouzès discovered a hitherto-unknown document which belonged to a neglected period

of the Armenian-Byzantine ecclesiastical negotiations. The document sheds additional light on the correspondence between the emperor John Komnenos (1118–1143) and the Armenian Catholicos Grigor III Pahlavuni (1113–1165). Darrouzès published only the Greek version of the document written by the Armenian Catholicos: the original document has not been found. The exact dating of the document is still under discussion⁴, but it is very likely that the letter was sent to John II Komnenos after the imprisonment of the Rubenid prince Levon I (1137) and during the period of the ecclesiastical negotiations with the Latin Church (which began in 1141). Only theological issues are discussed in the letter. It is worth noting that from a theological viewpoint the Armenian Church's positions in the *filioque* controversy (on whether the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, or from the Father and the Son) stood very close to Byzantine interest – at least as shown in this document⁵. It must be noted that no other Byzantine chancellery document from this period has been revealed so far, to shed light on Armenian-Byzantine relations in the 1140s.

Cilician Armenia was mentioned in imperial and patriarchal documents since the beginning of the 12th century. After an interval of some decades, bilateral documents emerge in Armenian and Greek, exchanged with secular and religious leaders of Byzantium and Cilicia. The study of these documents continues, revealing much about the Cilician Armenian Church and state. The surviving documents of the '60s–'70s of the 12th century, written on behalf of

¹ The document, as we have mentioned elsewhere, is preserved in Anna Komnene's "The Alexiad", see the following note.

² Cf. Anna Comnène, *Alexiade*, t. III, pp. 128, 130. For Russian translation see Ja.N. Lyubarskiy, M.M. Freydenberg, "Devol'skiĭ dogovor 1108 g. mejdu Alekseem Komninom i Boēmundo", *Vizantiyskiĭ Vremennik*, t. XXI, p. 269. See more on this above.

³ See Cl. Mutaġian, *L'Arménie du Levant (XI^e–XIV^e)*, Paris, 2012, pp. 64–90.

⁴ J. Darrouzès, 'Trois documents de la controverse Gréco-Arménienne', *Revue des Études Byzantines* (REB), 48, 1990, pp. 89–103. Cf. *Églises de Dialogue: Arméniens et Byzantins dans la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle* / par Isabelle Augé, Lovanii 2011, p. 10 (CSCO, vol. 633, Subsidia, t. 124).

⁵ See J. Darrouzès, 'Trois documents ...', p. 144. Cf. I. Augé, *Byzantins, Arméniens & Francs au temps de la Croisade*, Geuthner, Paris, 2007, p. 165. Such approach could be also a result of the translator's personal initiative.

the Byzantine emperors (Manuel I Komnenos and Alexios II) and one by the Constantinople patriarch (Michael III Anchialos) pertain to Armenian-Byzantine church negotiations⁶. They were addressed to Armenian Catholicos Nerses IV and Grigor IV Tla without ever mentioning the Cilician princes. These are the first manifestations of the Byzantine imperial and religious authorities' relations with the Cilician Armenian Catholicos.

The study of the Armenian-Byzantine church negotiation records of the '60s-'70s of the 12th century marks new highs in the field of Armenian-Byzantine religious and political research. The Byzantine authorities deemed the institution of the Armenian Catholicosate independent of any Armenian political power. In the set wording of the documents sent to Hromkla, the Komnenoi emperors and patriarchs addressed the Armenian Catholicos with honorific titles: τιμιωτάτος (most respectful), ἀγαπετέ (dearest), εὐλαβεστάτος (wisest) and ἄνερ ὁσιώτατε (holiest man)⁷. Noticeable in the Byzantine writings of this and later periods is the duality of attitudes towards the Holy See of the Armenian Church, its dogmas and rites. As a rule, Byzantine writers described the Armenian population living within the Byzantine Empire and its allegiance to the authority of the Armenian Catholicos as heretical. This approach is evident in the treatises by the eleventh-century authors Euthimios Zigadenos and Niketas Choniates, both entitled «Πανοπλία δογματική» ("Doctrinal Armory"). Furthermore, this approach can be traced to the works of Michael Italikos, Anna Komnene and others. In comparison, the epistles of the Byzantine emperors and patriarch, referring mainly to ultimate unification of both churches, are rather tolerant in tone; though in these cases as

well the Byzantine side frequently demanded unconditional acceptance of the Byzantine faith and rite. Contrary to this demand the Armenian Catholicosate offered to meet halfway, through a compromise⁸.

After the death of Manuel I Komnenos in 1180 the Byzantine Empire entered a long phase of political upheaval and instability. This turbulence resulted in the cessation of the Armenian-Byzantine ecclesiastical negotiations that had been dynamically developing for the last fifteen years. Alexios II Komnenos (1180–1183), an underage son of Manuel I, and his numerous tutors were continuously busy with the retention of their own power in the state, and therefore could not pay enough attention to the ecclesiastical dialogue between the Armenian and Byzantine Churches. Moreover, the emperor Andronikos I Komnenos (1183–1185) who in the 1160s had been appointed by Manuel I Komnenos as both a commander of the Byzantine army deployed in Cilicia and provincial governor, did not conceal his negative attitude towards the Cilician princely state and the local Armenian population in general⁹. The fact that Andronikos I Komnenos had a special attitude towards the Armenians is shown by Niketas Choniates, who alludes to Armenians in the context of a severe rivalry between Andronikos and the Patriarch Theodosios Borradiotes (1179–1183)¹⁰. It seems that the conflict that broke out between the emperor and the patriarch could have been caused by the emperor's aspiration to replace Theodosios Borradiotes (who originated from an Armenian environment) with someone else. Moreover, the narration by Choniates confirms the sympathies of Theodosios Borradiotes towards Alexios II, the son of Manuel I Komnenos on one

⁶ See particularly A. Bozoyan, Documents..., pp. 106–116, 121–126, I. Augé, Églises en Dialogue..., Lovanni 2011.

⁷ A. Bozoyan, Documents..., pp. 111, 124–125.

⁸ A. Bozoyan, Documents..., p. 166.

⁹ A. Bozoyan, The eastern policy of the Byzantium..., pp. 190–200, 210–211.

¹⁰ Nicetae Choniatae. Historia, p. 253.

side, and his evident opposition to Andronikos I on the other side¹¹.

The first Byzantine document delivered to Cilicia after the death of Manuel I was the letter composed by Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195)¹². In the letter, written not later than 1186¹³ or during the first year of Isaac's reign, addressed to Catholicos Grigor IV Tla (1173–1193), the question was about the bilingual (in Armenian and Arabic languages)¹⁴ letters sent by the Armenian Catholicos to Constantinople. In those messages the Armenian clergy expressed its readiness to visit the capital city of Constantinople in order to conclude an oecumenic alliance with the Byzantine Church. The Byzantine side, according to the emperor's letter, appreciated the actions by the Catholicos wishing to stop the hostility between the two peoples. It was also admitted that there would be no progress towards the deal without mutual compromise. In the message the emperor confirmed: "The traditions we have, which obviously contradict the Armenian holy councils or holy canonic order, will be improved"¹⁵. In fact, the emperor acknowledged that there is

¹¹ See the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, p. 2052.

¹² H.M. Bartikyan, New evidences on the Cilician Armenian..., 1958, pp. 285–290. For more on this letter see Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches / bearbeiten von Franz Dölger, 2. Teil: Regesten von 1025–1204 / zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeiten von Peter Wierth, München 1995, p. 288, no. 1567g [1621].

¹³ In all likelihood, the letter was written on the eve of the Third Crusade.

¹⁴ Although this is so far the only case for using Arabic by Armenian high-ranked clerics recorded in the sources, nevertheless it may indirectly characterize both the working style and epistolary peculiarities of the divan of the Armenian Catholicosate in the discussed period. The use of Arabic language for official correspondence may support an idea that the Armenian Catholicoi residing in Hromkla were under strong Ayyubid influence (See A. Bozoyan, The eastern policy of the Byzantium..., p. 219 n. 3).

¹⁵ See H.M. Bartikyan, New evidences..., p. 289. Similar approach was also demonstrated during the Armenian-Byzantine negotiations of 1165–1178. The

some truth to the rumors that reached the Catholicos about the aggression against Armenians in Philippopolis, to forced conversion to Orthodoxy, instigated by a local bishop said to have been acting on behalf of the emperor (softened by the claim that the conversions were voluntary).¹⁶

Isaac Komnenos tried in every possible way to facilitate the Catholicos's visit to the capital of the empire. He advised that he had cared to arrange with Iconia and Egypt for the security of the

traces of this policy can be found in the first letter sent by Manuel I Komnenos to Grigor IV Tla, the Greek version of which did not survive. It is said:

"And after consideration and just judgment, seeing the correctness of each other, except for the language, let us remove the stone of contention, that stumbling block, from our minds and tear down the partition wall, so that having put on the robe of Christ that knows no tear, that is His Orthodox confession, henceforth, in the common faith of both sides, let there be one catholic and apostolic church, confessed without shame", see Nerses Shnorhali. Ėndhanrakan t'ult'k' (Encyclicals), Jerusalem 1871, pp. 173–174.

¹⁶ In the letter the emperor tries to deny the news that reached Hromkla and according to which in the district of Philippopolis "a local bishop based on the imperial order tried to persuade the Armenians living there to abandon their faith against their will" (H.M. Bartikyan, New evidences..., p. 289). He also tries to assure the Catholicos Grigor IV Tla that the Armenians were changing their faith voluntarily and without any violence. Vardan Arevelc'i, being aware of these events left a passage where he tells that Greeks made the entire community with three bishops and 1600 priests to change their faith by violence, and only a few of them managed to preserve their faith (see [Vardan Arevelc'i], Havak'umn Patmut'ean Vardanay Vardapeti (*Historical Compilation*), Venice 1862, pp. 133–134). Information on these events, according to Vardan the historian, reached the Catholicosate in Hromkla through the "Priest Grigor". It is very likely that this Grigor, again according to Vardan, might be identical with the person sent by Grigor IV Tla to Rome to ask the Pope for help. The fact that the mentioned Grigor was an archbishop in Philippopolis is available in the document by Pope Lucius III, which has survived in an Armenian version only (see Matenadaran manuscript 1026, p. 175v).

Catholicos's country during his absence. To escort the Catholicos to Constantinople the emperor sent a certain *vestarites* Constantin of Amasia to Hromkla. The title of the letter says that it was rendered by protosecretary father Niketas Valanites for – and on behalf of – Isaac Angelos.¹⁷ The only title given to the Catholicos in this letter is “τιμιωτάτος” (honorable), also matched in earlier period records. Isaac Angelos's letter shows that on the one hand the empire tried to keep friendly relations with the Armenian Church, while on the other hand coercing the non-Chalcedonian Armenian population of Byzantium to follow the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. This duality of the Byzantine policy continued for the entire period of the Cilician Armenian kingdom's existence.

The attitude of Niketas Choniates, the noted historian of the time, deserves special attention. In 1189 as the mayor of Philippopolis he was in close contact with the city's Armenian community. Of exceptional interest is the historian's identifying the Armenian faith with that of the Latin Crusaders¹⁸. Several chapters of his «Πανοπλία δογματική», the most outstanding of his theological works, are dedicated to criticizing a number of dogmas and rituals followed in the “Armenian heresy”¹⁹. Niketas expressed his open antipathy to the “Armenian heresy” also in the “Historia”, considering that Armenians, as well as the standard-bearers of the Third Crusade (led by the conqueror of Philippopolis Frederick

¹⁷ See the Armenian translation from the original in H.M. Bartikyan, The Letter of Emperor Isaac Angelos..., 1967, IV, pp. 50–55. See the Russian translation of some passages from this document in: H.M. Bartikyan, To the history of relations between Byzantium ... VV, t. XVII, 1960, pp. 52–25.

¹⁸ Detailed above.

¹⁹ See J. L. van Dieten, Zur Überlieferung und Veröffentlichung der Panoplia dogmatike des Niketas Choniates, Amsterdam, 1970.

Barbarossa) were the followers of the same faith²⁰. There is another reflection on the subject of the “Armenian heresy” in his discourse XVIII, of which the title and the beginning have unfortunately not been preserved²¹.

Study of the sources shows that until the end of the 12th century the Byzantine Empire did not officially recognize the autonomy of the Rubenid principality. Anyway there is not a single document addressed to Cilician rulers until 1213, despite the beginning of a new political era in Armenian-Byzantine relations after 1198 – when the empire recognized Levon Rubenid as the king of Armenians. It would be interesting to know whether such recognition had been officially recorded. After that date the system of the forms of address used by the Byzantine imperial or patriarchal chanceries for documents exchanged in their relations with the Cilician Armenian state had to be either amended or created anew.

In the 13th century a new situation occurred in Byzantium: a few documents of that period testify that the imperial or patriarchal chanceries developed a new set of forms for addressing the spiritual and worldly leaders of Cilicia. They should express Byzantium's official attitude – including the fact that they recognized the Cilician Armenian state. In the *Invocatio of Protocol* (ἰ'ἡ'arajk') of a preserved Synodal letter (συνοδικὸν γράμμα) of 1213/4 signed by the members of the Constantinople Synod and Patriarch Michael IV Autoreanos (1208–1214) and sent to the “king of Armenia, Cilicia and Isauria” (ῥῆξ Ἀρμενίας, Κιλικίας καὶ Ἰσαυρίας) Levon I was accorded the epithet πανευγενέστατε to a

²⁰ Niketae Choniatae Historia..., 1975, pp. 218–219.

²¹ Niketae Choniatae orations et epistulae..., 1972, p. 196. 1–6.

superlative degree: the 'noblest'²². The names and characteristic titles of both the sender and addressee are missing in the *Invocatio*. Only the honorary epithet and the term *ῥῆξ* (king) are mentioned, denoting in Byzantine perception the limitation to Armenian kings – an innovation for Byzantine imperial and church chanceries, as it emphasized the sovereign status of Levon I's power over "Armenia, Cilicia and Isauria" (already recognized by the Byzantine Empire). This document shows that the empire included Levon I in the family of lords ruling in various provinces of the Byzantine world led by the emperor (ὁ βασιλεὺς)²³ – the father of all rulers of the *oikoumene*. As of the 9th century the Byzantines applied the term *ῥῆξ* towards the officially recognized rulers of Christian countries, discerning their own emperors from other sovereign monarchs. As shown by later documents this trend remained unchanged. The document of our interest has a classical structure typical for Byzantine chanceries. The contents following the heading may be divided to three structural parts: 1. the preamble, the proem or letter-opening (*prooimion*); 2. the subject, the narrative or body of the letter (*narratio*); and 3. the epilogue or letter-closing (*corroboratio*).

In the preamble (*prooimion*) the author of the letter wished peace in Christ to the king of Cilicia (σύ θεοφιλῶν = you, beloved of God) who as a pledge of love and unity gave his daughter for marriage to the emperor (τοῦ φιλευσεβοῦς κραταιοῦ καὶ ἅγιος ἡμῶν βασιλέως = to our pious, mighty and holy emperor). In the

²² Despite the absence of the Cilician king's name in the above chart, the editor of this document (Pavlov) proved in his historical-philological research that its addressee could be only the Armenian king of Cilicia Levon I (See A. Pavlov, Sinodal'naja gramota 1213 goda o brake grečeskogo imperatora s dočerju armjanskogo knjazja, VV, vol. IV (1897), pp. 161–164).

²³ Regarding the explanation and use of the term, see L. Bréhier, *Le Monde Byzantin, t. II: Les institutions de l'empire byzantine*, Paris, 1970, pp. 46–47.

narratio, the subject of the document, we learn that the emperor (οἱ κραταιὸς καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς) is to convene the Synod of his sacred kingdom (τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ βασιλείας) to inform in passing that the king of Cilicia (ἡ λαμπροτάτη εὐγένειά σου = your Serene Highness [lit., "noble birth"]) is establishing kinship through marriage (συναλλάσσουσα εἰς συγγένειαν) with the emperor (μετὰ τῆς βασιλείας) by giving him his own daughter for a wife (αὐτοῦ γνησίαν²⁴, καὶ εἰς γυναῖκα ταύτη διδοῦσα τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς); also demanding the confirmation of this arrangement by a "Synodal" deed (μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἀσφάλειαν γενέσθαι αὐτῇ διὰ συνοδικῆς ἐγγράφου πράξεως), not just by the resolution (συναφθῆναι) of the emperor himself (τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ). As for the would-be-bridal (τὴν θυγατέρα τῆς σῆς εὐγενείας = the daughter of your Highness), more than her cortège or retinue, there would be canonic observance (εἰ μὴ κατὰ κανονικὴν ἀκολουθίαν καὶ παρατήρησιν) of a perfect religious ceremony/blessing (μετὰ ἱερολογίας τελείας). That for these reasons and upon the emperor's request, the Synod will convene to prepare for the consummation of this canonical requirement (τὸ τοιοῦτον κανονικὸν διεκελεύετο πρόσταγμα). The subject continues:

We [the writers of this letter] also considered that it would be expedient (Ὅτι γοῦν καὶ ἡμῖν εὐλογον ἐνομίσθη τὸ γενέσθαι) as your Highness demanded (καθὼς τε καὶ ἡ εὐγένειά σου ἡτήσατο) and the emperor agreed (καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τοῦτο εἰκότως ἐπένευσε) to compose this letter to your Highness (τὸ παρὸν γράμμα ἰδοὺ πρὸς τὴν σὴν εὐγένειαν ἐγχαράξαι δέον ἐκρίναμεν) whom we (the undersigned) inform. I, the Patriarch; I, the Archbishop of Bulgaria and we, the Fathers Superior presently subordinated to the Great Patriarchal See of Constantinople (οἱ ὑπὸ

²⁴ Reconstruction of this word is based on the facsimile of the Macedonian manuscript.

τὸν πατριαρχικὸν μέγιστον θρόνον τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὸ
τηνικαῦτα παρευθεθέντες ἀρχιερεῖς) as well as the bishops being
well aware of the issue (καὶ ἐν ἀκροάσει γεγονότες τῆς ὑποθέσεως)
assure that our mighty and holy emperor full of [god's grace] and
piety (ὡς ὁ κραταῖος καὶ ἅγιος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς ὅλος (Θεοῦ χάριτι)
τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐστὶ) is standing on the divine and sacred canons and
decisions and does not desire to do anything out of the law and
canons. We made sure we were convinced of that matter and notify
your Highness (τῇ σῇ εὐγενείᾳ) and we are fully convinced that our
mighty and holy emperor will not cohabit with your blood daughter
(ὡς οὐκ ἂν πρὸς μίξιν τῇ σῇ συναφθῆσεται θυγατρὶ ὁ κραταῖος καὶ
ἅγιος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς) until all church and canonical rites and a
ceremony in accordance with the ancient sacred traditions of our
holiest great church are performed in keeping with such circum-
stances. Everything will be arranged beforehand, which will be
succeeded by the wedding rite. We are committed to doing every-
thing even if you king, your serene Highness (ἡ λαμπροτάτη σου
εὐγένεια) were not demanding it. We do know well that as we said
our holy emperor (τὸν βασιλέα ἡμῶν τὸν ἅγιον) is devout in these
matters and observes and protects the canonic and legal traditions.

In the epilogue or letter-closing (*corroboratio*) we read: "To
keep your royal Highness (τὴν σὴν ποιοῦμεν εὐγένειαν) far from
any suspicion or doubt we have set our hands to undersign this
letter".

The closing protocol or *eschatocol* contains the Byzantine
date: year 6722 from the creation of the world, in October of the
second Indiction, which according to the lists of V. Grumel
corresponds to October of the year 1214²⁵. Then come the
signatures of the Council members. The date of the document is not

²⁵ See V. Grumel, *La Chronologie*, Paris, 1958, p. 258: Other scholars following Pavlov date the document to October 1213.

doubted except that following Pavlov, the year must have been
1213. This dating is based on the fact that Patriarch Michael Auto-
rianos ruled until August 1214²⁶.

Thus, according to the document in 1213/4 Levon I, king of
Cilicia married his daughter to the Byzantine emperor of Nicaea
Theodoros Lascaris. This document – preserved in a copy, is the
only one remaining of all the correspondence exchanged between
the parties during the nuptial negotiations. The council letter
(συνοδικὸν γράμμα) was written on behalf of the Church Synod
and signed by the Patriarch Michael (Μηχαήλ ἐλέω Θεοῦ
ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Νέας Ῥώμης), John, archbi-
shop of Bulgaria (Ἰωάννης ἐλέω Θεοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βουλγαρίας),
the metropolitans Nicolaios of Ephesos and Nicephoros of
Kyzikos; bishops Nicephoros of Sardis, Theodoros of Laodicaea,
Nicolaios of Philadelphia, Sergios of Prusai's Theupolis, Constan-
tin, archbishop of Chios, Necephoros of Lopadion and Melitopolis
and Leon of Melageon.

Thus the Church Synod addressed the noblest king (ῥήγας) of
Armenia, Cilicia and Isauria wishing peace in Christ; reminded
about the king's desire to establish ties of kinship, love and union
through marrying his daughter to the "pious, mighty and holy"
emperor; informed that the emperor had convened this Synod, and
will do so regarding preparations for the canonic religious ceremo-
ny and the full rite of his wedding with the daughter of the Arme-
nian king. Then those undersigned (the highest ranking clergymen)
assured that the emperor did not desire to do anything that would
be outside the legal or canonical procedures. That is why the Synod
solemnly declared that the emperor would not cohabit with the
king's daughter until all legal and church ceremonies of the wed-
ding rite were fully performed "in conformity with the ancient and

²⁶ See *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*..., p. 1365.

sacred traditions of our holiest church, in keeping with such circumstances". By this the Synod members seem to imply the ceremony of the bride's conversion to orthodoxy. The Patriarch assured that it would be performed even if the Armenian king did not demand it, alluding to a letter by Levon I to the emperor²⁷. The Synod members stress the extreme piety of their emperor in this respect and his obedience to the canonic and legal traditions. So they signed this letter in order to exclude any doubts on the Armenian king's behalf²⁸. The delegation headed by Vasil Kamateros – special envoy and maternal uncle of Theodor I Lascaris²⁹ – arrived in Sis with the Synodal letter most probably in October or the latest in November of 1213 or 1214. The same delegation is mentioned in one of the original letters of Niketas Choniates³⁰. As evidenced by

²⁷ This hint is enough to prove that there was an active exchange of diplomatic documents and rather lively political dialogue between the Empire of Nicaea and the Cilician kingdom on the eve of 1213/1214 negotiations.

²⁸ The circumstances connected with the writing of this document were discussed by N. Oikonomides, *Cinq actes inédits du patriarche Michel Autôreianos*, REB, vol. 25 (1967), pp. 113–145, see in particular pp. 128–129, in whose opinion negotiations with king Levon should be initiated after the death of Anna, wife of Theodoros and daughter of emperor Alexios I (probably before 1212), in October of 1213 already, since Patriarch Michael Autoreanos died in 1214 when emperor Theodoros Lascaris was on his way to Atalia and the new patriarch Theodoros Eirenicos was installed on Sept. 28, 1214. The marriage of emperor Theodoros Lascaris to Philippa took place on Dec. 25 of the same year (Ref. and ann. 20a: Cf. A. Pavlov, *Sinodal'naja gramota...*, pp. 164–166; A. Heisenberg, *Zu den armenisch-byzantinischen Beziehungen am Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Sitzungsber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., 1929/6. *Akropolitès*, p. 26 confirms that Anna died before the second marriage of Theodoros Lascaris (ἐφ' ἣν πρὸ καιροῦ τελευτήσαν).

²⁹ See P.I. Žavoronkov, *Iz istorii nikejsko-kilikiiskix...*, ADCB, 30, Sverdlovsk 1999, p. 211.

³⁰ See Nicetae Choniatae *Orationes et Epistulae*, pp. 216–217.

the historian Smbat the Constable³¹, the envoys returned to Constantinople in a year, perhaps at the end of 1214, bringing with them from Sis the bride of Theodor Lascaris, Philippa, the daughter of Levon I's brother Ruben. The Byzantine author Nicolaos Mesarites attributed the prolongation of negotiations to the suspected cunning nature of Armenians and their stubborn insistence on the marriage with an intent to bypass the engagement³². According to N. Oikonomides, following Pavlov, the marriage took place by December 25, 1214³³.

A special study was devoted to this issue by Russian Byzantinist P. Zhavoronkov. In his opinion the Armenians deceived both the Byzantine envoy Vasil Kamateros and the emperor by sending the 32 year-old daughter of Ruben, Philippa, instead of Levon's daughter Ritha to Nicaea³⁴. The Byzantinist reasonably argued that the oldest of Levon's two daughters, Stephanina was engaged to the king of Jerusalem John Brienne. That is why Zhavoronkov thought that the best candidate to marry Theodor Lascaris would be the daughter of Levon I, Ritha. In my opinion the marriage with Philippa was not welcomed by the Byzantine clerics – not because they felt deceived, but because the emperor had to marry a heretic

³¹ See *La Chronique attribuée au Connétable Smbat*: Introduction, traduction et notes par G. Dédéyan, Paris, 1980, p. 92 n. 12.

³² A. Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion. III: Der Bericht des Nikolaos Mesarites über die politischen und kirchlichen Ereignisse des Jahres 1214* / SBABW, Phil.-hist. Klasse, München 1923. №3, S. 47. 25–28.

³³ N. Oikonomides, *Cinq actes inédits du patriarche Michel Autôreianos*, REB, tome 25, 1967, pp. 128–129.

³⁴ See P.I. Žavoronkov, *Iz istorii nikejsko-kilikiiskix...*, ADCB, 30, Sverdlovsk 1999, pp. 209–215, in particular pp. 210–212). In his paper Zhavoronkov convincingly showed the impossibility of A. Savides' and Stepanenko's dating of the Armenian-Byzantine nuptial negotiations to 1209–1210.

in the Byzantine point of view. It is conceivable that in the course of negotiations the parties tried to make that marriage serve their long-term geopolitical interests. This, however, did not materialize though a son (named Constantin, according to Father Ališan) and a daughter named Sophia were born to the couple. According to Byzantine historian George Acropolites the throne of Theodor Lascaris never did pass to his son born by the Armenian wife but was succeeded, under the emperor's will, by John Vatatses, the husband of his elder daughter. According to P. Zhavoronkov, Sophia's daughter married duke Frederick II of the Austrian Babenberg dynasty³⁵.

Obviously the marriage of Philippa and Theodor Lascaris did not last long. After 1217 Cilicia had to either negotiate a new alliance with the Sultanate of Iconia or obey it. Just about circa 1217 Philippa, maybe in connection with the changing political situation, left Byzantium – leaving her children behind. In my opinion the marriage of Philippa and Theodor Lascaris was a political alliance that could no longer satisfy the parties in 1217. The resentment was probably both-sided. Political circumstances, especially the Cilician kingdom's arrangements with the sultan of Iconium Keykavus I (1211–1220) might have compelled Philippa to leave the Byzantine Empire. We do know that the very same year Theodor I Lascaris sought to secure his country through a nuptial alliance with the Latin Empire of Constantinople.

The most important new revelation in the sphere of fourteenth-century documentary sources emerged from Hrach Bartikyan's work, especially from his studies dedicated to the political aspects of the Armenian-Byzantine Church negotiations of the

³⁵ See P.I. Zhavoronkov, *Iz istorii nikejsko-kilikiiskix...*, ADCB, 30, Sverdlovsk 1999, p. 212.

13th–14th centuries³⁶. He made a detailed study of the correspondence between the Constantinople patriarchs Germanus II (1223–1240)³⁷ and Manuel II (1244–1255)³⁸ with Catholicos Constantine (Arm. Costandin) I of Barjrbard (1221–1267). The main content of these documents is discussed below in chronological order, together with the background of the political events of the time, in order to emphasize their importance in assessing Cilicia's place in Byzantine thinking.

The letter of Patriarch Germanus II.

In the document title the Catholicos is addressed “τῷ ὑψηλῷ Καθολικῷ πάσης τῆς ἀρμενικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην” (to the supreme Catholicos of the whole Armenian Church worldwide). It seems that the Byzantine chancery had tried to translate the title «Ամենայն Հայոց կաթողիկոս» (*Amenayn Hayoc' Kat'olikos* = Catholicos of All Armenian) into Greek, which is alien to the system of wording in addressing the Catholicos of Hromkla as preserved in twelfth-century Greek letters³⁹. In

³⁶ H.M. Bartikyan, *Ecclesiastical Relations between Cilician Armenian...*, Ashtanak, vol. I, Yerevan, 1995, pp. 112–126. See the French version of the same article in H.M. Bartikyan, *Les relations des églises de l'Arménie Cilicien et de l'Empire byzantine et leurs implications politiques*, Actes du Colloque “Les Lusignans et l'Outre Mer” (Poitiers-Lusignan 20–24 octobre 1993), Poitier 1993, pp. 47–53.

³⁷ H.M. Bartikyan, *Armenian-Byzantine Church Relations in the documents...*, «Gandzasar» theological journal, vol. 7, Yerevan, 2002, pp. 27–63. See the description of the letter of Germanus in : *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. I: *Les actes des patriarches*, fasc. IV: *Les registres de 1208 à 1309* / par V. Laurent, Paris, 1971, pp. 97–98, № 1290.

³⁸ The honor of publishing the original of Manuel's letter belongs to H.M. Bartikyan; see the detailed description of the document in: *Les actes...*, Paris, 1971, pp. 115–117.

³⁹ See A. Bozoyan, *The Documents ...*, 1995, pp. 111, 122.

the title Constantine of Barjberd is addressed “the lord adorned with wisdom and prudence” (καὶ σοφία καὶ συνέσει κεκοσμημένο Κυρῶ). Of course we cannot insist that this wording is contemporaneous with the date of the original, but it seems to refer to the time of the document’s registration at the patriarchal chancery. This is evidenced by other documents to be discussed below as well as the first words when referring to the same recipient – “of the same” (τοῦ αὐτοῦ). Since the manuscript contains no other originals written by Patriarch Germanus II preceding the aforementioned letter, the patriarchal chancery should have registered the copies of subsequent documents authored by Patriarch Germanus (and entered them into the register) in the same manner. The frontispiece of this letter seems to be lost or left out by a notarial scribe since it was probably reflected in the title, which reduced the full wording of the patriarchic titlature to only his name while it retained the official form for addressing the Armenian Catholicos.

The Letter has a rather lengthy preamble (*prooimion*), describing the story of Emperor Constantine’s and King Tiridat’s conversion to Christianity, emphasizing Gregory the Illuminator’s role in these two sovereigns’ union in faith. Then the document turns to the heresies, which split the unity, cursing Nestor from the very beginning. It blames Armenians for “reducing the two natures into one” (τάς δύο φύσεις εἰς μίαν συγχέουσι), which had been the main cause of the schism between the two churches, and for “adopting other practices contrary to ecclesiastical traditions” (ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερα προσεξεύρεκεν ἔθῃ ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς ἐναντιούμενα παραδόσει). For that very reason, according to the Patriarch, God had revealed himself to the Armenian king (ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βασιλικῶς τῶν Ἀρμενίων κατάρχοντα, ὃν καὶ ῥῆγα ἡ Λατινὶς προσωνόμασε = as for the ruling Armenian kingling called “rex” in Latin) and the Catholicos (σὲ τὸν ὑψηλότατον ἐν ἀρχιερεῦσι τῶν Ἀρμενίων καθολικόν, κράτος ἀνεζωσμένον ἐν πάσαις ταῖς

Ἀρμενικαῖς ἐκκλησίαις συνανίστηρησι = to you, the most-high priest, the Catholicos of the Armenians, having power over all Armenian churches), and had warmed their hearts. Note the application of the Greek “basilikos” in designating king Hetum I, which according to the sender is equal to Latin “rex”. An attentive reader would notice that this naming had once been used by the twelfth century author Michael Italicus. The chancery scribe undoubtedly used this form of addressing the Catholicos while composing the document’s preamble.

The body or the *narratio* of the letter emphasizes that negotiations on union had been initiated by the Armenian king and Catholicos by sending to the Byzantine emperor (τὸν κράτιστον, θεοπτεστόν τε καὶ θεοδόξαστον αὐτοκράτορα = most mighty sovereign, ordained and exalted by God) and Patriarch (addressed with the idiosyncratic μετριότητα = humble self) delegates of Orthodox confession: Father Superior of the Scopelos⁴⁰ monastery Father Theodoretos (τὸν τε δῆλαδὴ ὀσιώτατον καθηγούμενον τῆς τατὰ τὸν Σκόπελον σεβασμίας ιερομόναχον κυρὸν Θεοδώριτον = most holy Father Superior of the sacred Scopelos monastery Lord Theodoretos) and monk Vasilios (τὸν εὐλαβέστατον μοναχὸν κυρὸν Βασίλειον = most pious monk Lord Vasilios). From them the emperor (κράτιστος καὶ ἅγιος αὐτοκράτωρ = most mighty and holy sovereign) and I [the Patriarch] (ἡ μετριότης ἡμῶν = our humble self) received the initiative of the Catholicos (σε = your) and of the Armenian king (τοὺς ὑπερενδοξοτάτους ῥῆγας τῶν Ἀρμενίων⁴¹ = most glorious of the Armenian kings). The Patriarch was glad to hear the news and, inspired by it, he called for the

⁴⁰ According to H.M. Bartikyan, “The island within the Northern Sporades, north of Eubia was an episcopacy in 378” («Gandzasar», 7, p. 54 n. 14).

⁴¹ Mention of the Armenian king in plural in the original may be explained either as a common mistake by the copyist or as an allusion to Hetum’s co-regency at the time being with one of his sons, most probably Levon.

emperor to come to the aid of Constantinople (sacked by Latins). The Patriarch wishes for the Armenian people to be drawn to orthodoxy and be like-minded with them. He informs that he has become a vagabond, expelled from Constantinople and his Holy See, but having not yet received the letter from the Catholicos he proceeded to write these lengthy messages⁴². He entrusted their delivery to the Supreme metropolitan of the Melitenians, having believed the letter written to him by the Patriarch of Antioch and the information provided by Father Theodoretos, Father Superior of the Scopelos monastery of the Great Martyr Theodoros⁴³. Therefore he hopes that the bishop of Melitene along with some of the bishops subject to the Catholicos would return to the Patriarch, informing about the most exalted (τὸ τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου) Catholicos's will. In my opinion the use of the latter term requires careful comparison with other documents.

The letter-closing (*corroboratio*) conveys farewell wishes and a message of belief in church union.

At the end (*eschatocol*) of the letter are the titles and signature of Patriarch Germanos.

The letter of Patriarch Manuel II.

In its title the document is denoted as the third letter sent to the Armenian king and Catholicos⁴⁴ respectively: to King (ῥῆγα)

Hetum and wise Catholicos (σοφῶν καθολικῶν) Constantine, written on the 6th of Indiction⁴⁵ of 6756. Names of the addressees are not mentioned again in the document's subject.

In the *protocol* Patriarch Manuel addresses king Hetum with superlative epithets (Πανευτυχέστατε, πανευγενέστατε, πανενδοξόστατε, πανυψηλότατε, περιώνθμε ῥῆξ τοῦ ἀνδρικωτάτου καὶ μεγαλοδυνάμου γένους τῶν Ἀρμενίων ... τῇ μεγαλουργητάτῃ ῥηγικῇ σου ἐξουσία = the happiest, the noblest, most glorious, most honorable, most famed king of the bravest and most forceful Armenian nation ... to your greatest royal power), his relatives (πᾶσι τοῖς εὐγενεστάτοις καὶ κατὰ γένος σοι προσήκουσι = to all the noblest and your kin, noblest by birth), the Catholicos (τῷ τε σοφία καὶ συνέσει καὶ ἀγχινοῖα κεκοσμημένῳ ὑπερυψηλῷ Καθολικῷ τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων Ἐκκλησίας = to the most honorable Catholicos of the Armenian Church adorned with wisdom, prudence and sagacity), the Armenian nation (παντὶ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ εὐγενοῦς ἔθνους τῶν Ἀρμενίων = to the entire nation of Armenians noble by birth), with their bishops (ἀρχιερατικῷ σεμνηνομένῳ ὑψώματι = father superior, most revered, most noted), their dignitaries (τοῖς μεγαλουπερόχοις καὶ μεγαλεπιφανέσι, κεκοσμημένοις ἀξιώμασι, τοῖς τῷ ἱερῷ διαπρέπουσι καταλόγῳ = dignitaries adorned with great excellence and great glory, who are eminent in sanctity), their servicemen (τοῖς στρατιωτικαῖς ἐντεταγμένοις τάξεσι = included in the military ranks) and with all subjects of the king (καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν δωρηθεῖσαν σοι τοῦ Θεοῦ

I was written in the patriarchal chancery prior to this document and the as yet unpublished Synodal chart of the period of vacancy on the patriarchal throne, which is kept at the Vatican collection of Manuscripts Vatic. Gr. 1455, f. 27r-29v and Monac. 207, f. 14v-16r.

⁴⁵ The mentioned date corresponds to September of 1248. Thus the letter was written before September 1249, see V. Grumel, *La Chronologie*, Paris, 1958, p. 259 [*Traité d'Études Byzantines*, I].

⁴² Only the discussed epistle sent to Constantine of Barjrbard has survived. Presumably there should be another letter written to the Armenian king or kings.

⁴³ It means that the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch and Father Theodoretos, Father Superior of the Scopelos monastery of St. Theodosios had been go-betweens of the Constantinople Patriarch in his negotiations with the Armenian Church. Patriarch of Antioch Dorotheus (1219-1245) sent an intercessory letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople Germanos.

⁴⁴ Based on the contents of the letter, V. Laurent states the obvious: that the Byzantine chancery scribes implied that the above-mentioned letter of Germanos

ρηγικὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑπηκόοις σου = in a word, with the subjects granted to your royal authority by God). In the preamble (*prooimion*) the Patriarch prays to God to enlighten the king (σοί - you) through Christ. Then he sets forth his church's creed regarding the Incarnation: seeing the two natures of Christ within a single person, having two influences and two wills, considering in error all who disagree with this doctrine. Then naming himself the archbishop of Constantinople and the Patriarch of New Rome and the *Oikoumene*, he, together with the holy bishops of his Synod, wishes that the king (τρισευγενέστατε, πανευχεέστατε ῥῆξ τοῦ μεγαλεπιφανοῦς γῶνους τῶν Ἀρμενίων = thrice noblest, happiest king of the most notable Armenian nation) and his subjects accept the light of truth, the creed of his church's faith. There is a hint that it is the third in a series of letters with similar content. Then he recalls that, by request of the most honorable king (ἡ πανυψηλότης σου ... βουλῇ καὶ θελήσει τῆς ἐξουσίας σου ...) in the days of his predecessor Patriarch Germanus, the Patriarch of Antioch (τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου Ἀντιοχείας = the holiest patriarch of Antioch) sent a letter to the mighty emperor (τὸν κραταῖον θεόληπτον καὶ θεοδόξαστον ἅγιον ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορα = our holy sovereign of godsent might and glory...) and to the Patriarch (τὸν ἀοιδιμόν ἐν πατριάρχαις τὸν ἅγιον κύριν Γερμανόν = the praised Patriarch holy Lord Germanus) through Father Superior of the Scopelos monastery of St. Theodoros (Father Theodoretos) and hieromonk Vlasios (Vasilios in the letter of Germanus -A.B.) expressing a sincere desire to establish unity of faith and accord. And the holy Patriarch (ὁ ἅγιος) welcomed it, wishing to visit you in person. But since it was not possible to accomplish that wish, the Patriarch, with the emperor's knowledge (τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος = our mighty and holy sovereign) sent the holiest metropolitan of Melitene (τὸν ἱερώτατον μητροπολίτην) to the Catholicos. The envoy delivering Germanus's letter received a

letter addressed to the Patriarch with a promise of a reciprocal diplomatic visit [to Nicaea] and a written confession of the Armenian faith (τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων λίβελλον πίστεως). Years later the king (σοί = your)⁴⁶ sent envoys to the emperor (τὸν κραταῖον θεόσοφον ἅγιον ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορα = to our holy sovereign vested with mighty divine wisdom) with the confession of Armenian faith (λιβέλλου ἀφίκοντο). Since Patriarch Germanus had already died, the emperor (ἁγία αὐτοῦ βασιλεία = his holy kingship) convened a Synod of the bishops and introduced the written confession of the Armenian faith to them. With the consent of the Synod members, the emperor sent with the Metropolitan of Melitene (ὁ ἱερώτατος μητροπολίτης = the holiest metropolitan) and one of the Patriarchal elders/dignitaries (εἷς τῶν πατριαρχικῶν ἀρχόντων) the imperial (βασιλικῶν) and Synodical (συνοδικῶν) writings intending to accomplish the faith union. But the envoys returned empty-handed, because the Catholicos was far from the borders of the kingdom – in Hromkla.

The body of the letter (*narratio*) picks up the status quo. "Now, years later you are again writing a letter to the emperor (τὸν κραταῖον καὶ θεοκυβέρνητον ἅγιον ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορα = our holy sovereign, mighty and governing by God's [will]) and sending it with the envoys"⁴⁷. The Patriarch assures that he has not neglected the issue; nor dragged on the discussion because of the complicated situation, though it was cold and there was no deficiency of

⁴⁶ This intimate form of addressing the Armenian king with the use of the 2nd person singular pronoun is inherent to this letter.

⁴⁷ Most probably they meant the ambassadorial visit of Archimandrit Jacob, which according to Kirakos of Ganjak took place before the trip of king Hetum I to Karakorum. Pursuant to the fourteenth century historian the ambassadorial visit was made during the reign of emperor John Vatatses (1221–1254); see *Kirakos Ganjakeci*, Armenian History, edited by K. A. Melik-Ohanjanyan, Yerevan, 1961, pp. 365–366.

opponents. He prays for implementation of a good deed. He is sending the metropolitans, the holiest (ιερώτατον) of Melitene (the name is missing) and the most reverend (πανυπέρτιμον) Phocas of Philadelphia, who are assigned to submit the writing of faith and demand that Armenians make several concessions (chapters) for the promulgation of Christianity (πρὸς χρηματισμὸν τοῖς χριστιανίζουσι). He wishes his envoys would be given a good reception, and their speech amiably accepted, thus sharing the glory of the Armenian orthodox king Tiridat who laid the foundation of the parties' unity at the first three Oecumenical Councils. He wishes that from now on they would adhere to the Orthodox faith, which, serving as an example to pagans, will keep the followers of the unity of faith from any adversity.

In the letter-closing (*corroboratio*) the Patriarch prays to the Holy Virgin and all saints; then signs in the *eschatocol* his name with the full title of his office (Μανουήλ ἐλέφ Θεοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Νέας Ῥώμης καὶ Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης)⁴⁸.

Notable in the set forms of the letters of Patriarchs Germanus II (1223–1240) and Manuel II (1244–1255) is the exaggerated respect for the titles of the Armenian Catholicos and the king. In the letter of Germanus II to Constantine of Barjberd, the Catholicos is named “τῷ ὑψηλῷ Καθολικῷ πάσης τῆς ἀρμενικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ σοφία καὶ συνέσει κεκοσμημένῳ

⁴⁸ The Armenian and Greek versions of the “Symbol of Faith” of Constantine I of Barjberd (1221–1267) sent to the Constantinople Patriarch Manuel I have survived. The Armenian original manuscript at the Matenadaran, no. 2174, is one of the oldest manuscripts kept there. The text of the Greek version was copied in 1574 and presented to the king of Poland Henry III as an orthodox confession of the Armenian faith (see: Ex museo Petri Dubrowsky, Q. v. I. № 1 of St. Petersburg Imperial Library (in the Soviet period Saltikov Schedrin; presently National Library); cf. Bozoyan A., Documents ..., pp. 36–38).

Κυριῷ” (to the supreme Catholicos of the whole Armenian Church worldwide, adorned with wisdom and prudence by the Lord) as well as “ὑψηλότατον ἐν ἀρχιερεῦσι τῶν Ἀρμενίων καθολικόν, κράτος ἀνεξωσμένον ἐν πάσαις ταῖς Ἀρμενικαῖς ἐκκλησίαις συνανίστησι” (the most-high priest, the Catholicos of the Armenians, having power over all Armenian churches). There is a hint in the letter to the belittling title of the Armenian king “τὸν βασιλικῶς τῶν Ἀρμενίων κατάρχοντα, ὃν καὶ ῥῆγα ἡ Λατίνι προσωνόμασε” (the ruling Armenian kingling [or prince] called *rex* in Latin).

The letter of Patriarch Manuel II is addressed to king Hetum (ῥῆγα) and Catholicos Constantine I of Barjberd. The document contains the titles of the king and Catholicos. Both are represented by epithets to a superlative degree in the preamble (*protocol*) as well as in the body of the letter. The letter of Patriarch Manuel is noteworthy for its reference to converts as well as for expressions not found in the earlier documents.

During the long tenure of Constantine I of Barjberd (1221–1267) the Armenian Church kept rather active relations with the Roman Catholic Church – a fact that raises the importance of the above letters⁴⁹. Active inter-church negotiations of the Hromkla Catholicosate are also evidenced by another, recent finding. It pertains to Armenian Catholicos Jacob I's (1268–1286) seal imp-

⁴⁹ The “Symbol of Faith” of Constantine I of Barjberd was also handed to Pope Innocentius IV (1243–1254) by a Papal nuncio. The parchment with the Armenian original of this document is kept at the Apostolic Archivum secretum. Vaticanum, see A.A. Arm. I–XVIII. 1804 ; the photo of the document was published by Cl. Mutaftian in the catalogue of Armenia-Roma exhibition in 1998. Copy of the Latin translation from the original of 1574 was published by Dom Antonio Staerk, O.S.B., Die Confessio fidei Armenorum aus der Dubrowskischen Sammlung der Kaiserlichen Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg, VV, vol. XIV/1 (1907), Saint-Petersburg, 1908, pp. 192–196 (cf. A. Bozoyan, Armenian-Byzantine..., pp. 36–38).

ression affixed to his letter addressed to Archbishop John of the Nestorian Church of Nineveh⁵⁰. It is significant since it proves our strong conviction that in the period of Mongol domination the Armenian Church played an important role in east-west church and political relations⁵¹.

As we mentioned above, the article by Hrach Bartikyan dedicated to the Byzantine period of the life of Guido/Gui de Lusignan⁵² is an interesting example of making the fourteenth-century Byzantine sources speak. The author draws the attention of Cilician history specialists to two letters by the fourteenth-century Byzantine Patriarch Isaias (1323–1334) addressed to the Armenian Catholicos Jacob II of Anavarza (1327–1341) and Armenian King Levon IV (1320–1341). Both letters were written in the timeframe when the daughter of Levon II, Ritha (Margaret)-Maria-Xenia, who was married to Michael IX Paleologos (1295–1320), was still alive (died ca. 1333 or after). The set wording of these letters, being a classical sample of documents written in the Patriarchal chancery, displays some interesting features⁵³. Though the documents do not

⁵⁰ See **Seibt Werner** and **Martin Bithnau**, Ein Johannes "Erzbischof von Ninive" siegelt 1293 tirolische Ablassurkunden mit dem Typar des armenischen Katholikos Jakob I. († 1286), *Mitteilungen des instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Bd. 122, Teilband 1, Böhlau Verlag, Wien-Köln-Weimar, 2014, S. 112–123.

⁵¹ See **A. Bozoyan**, Le système hiérarchique de l'Église arméniennes à l'époque des Mongols, *Bazmavep Armenological-Philological Journal*, 168.3–4, 2010, p. 529.

⁵² **H.M. Bartikyan**, Guido Lusignan..., *Ashtanak yearly*, vol. II, Yerevan, 1998, pp. 135–143.

⁵³ See the critical edition of these documents in *Das Regesten des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. 1. Teil: Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315–1331 / Herausgegeben von Herbert Hunger und Otto Kreisten...*, Wien, 1981, S. 590–604 [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, XIX/1, Series Vindobonensis]; see the description of these letters in *Les registres des actes du*

contain dates, scholars, beginning with F. Doelger, date them to 1330/1331. Copies of their Greek originals are included in a manuscript kept at the Imperial Library of Vienna under number 47, containing, in chronological sequence, copies of the Constantinople patriarchal chancery documents dating from 1315–1331. The critical edition of the documents in question, taking into account all published editions of the manuscript, was done by Herbert Hunger and Otto Kresten, who, following F. Doelger and J. Darrouzes, date the letters to the Catholicos and the king of Cilician Armenia in the period between April, 1330–April, 1331. H. Hunger and O. Kresten rightly believe that the addressees of the letters were the Armenian Catholicos Jacob II of Anavarza and King Levon IV⁵⁴. The letters were written during the reign of Andronikus III Paleologos (1323–1341) when Gui de Lusignan occupied a high position in the Byzantine court. However neither the empress Maria-Xenia, nor Gui de Lusignan are mentioned in connection with the said documents. Their main narrative referred to the question of church union, as shown below.

Letter addressed to Catholicos Jacob II of Anavarza⁵⁵

As in other cases the original document is not preserved. The

patriarcat de Constantinople, vol. I: Les actes des Patriarche, fasc. V: Les registres de 1310 à 1376, par **J. Darrouzès**, Paris, 1977, pp. 117–118, № 2158; pp. 118–119, № 2159.

⁵⁴ *Das Regesten des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. 1. Teil ...*, S. 590, 598.

⁵⁵ H. Bartikyan mistakenly considered Catholicos Constantine IV of Lambron (1323–1326) to be the addressee of this letter (see **H.M. Bartikyan**, *New Materials on the Relations of Cilician Armenian State...*, Ashtanak, vol. I, Yerevan, 1995, p. 116). This mistake of Bartikyan has crept into the monograph of Cl. Mutaftian though the latter was familiar with the H. Hunger and O. Kristen's edition of the said documents; see **Cl. Mutaftian**, *L'Arménie du Levant (XI^e–XIV^e siècle)*, t. I, Paris, 2012, p. 553.

protocol contains only the formal address to the Armenian Catholicos (Αἰδεσιμώτατε, τιμιώτατε, εὐλαβήστατε καθολικὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν Ἀρμενίων = most revered, most honorable, most pious Catholicos of the Armenian Church). In the preamble (*prooimion*) of the document Patriarch Isaias (ἡ μετρίότης ἡμῶν = our humble self) sends good wishes to the Catholicos and his people, also expressing his eagerness to reach a union. In the body of the letter (*narratio*), Patriarch Isaias notifies that the envoys submitted to him the letters sent by the Catholicos (τῆς εὐλαβείας ὑμῶν = your reverent piety). For that reason the Patriarch convened a Synod of the chief clerics present there, which was also attended by the emperor (τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἁγίου μου αὐτοκράτορος = my most mighty and holy sovereign) with his senate and bodyguards. And the emperor ordered to read those letters, from which they were well informed about the Catholicos's conversion (τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιστροφήν = your conversion to our [faith]) because the Lord mended the division by his blood in reconciling it with the Father. He refers to the repentant conversion of the Catholicos and his flock to the bosom of the mother of all churches (πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν μητέρα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν) by divine discretion, promising to be an affable brother in the faith and glorifying the Trinity standing together with them. The head of the Byzantine Church stresses that the Armenian Catholicos made that decision without any pressure. For that very reason he opens the door of repentance and invites all God's children, like blood siblings, to glorify the Trinity with immaculate hearts. To accomplish this God-blessed act the Patriarch sends to the Catholicos the palace chamberlain, relative of the holy emperor, the sebastos Michael Kallikrinites, the monk Father Gabriel as well as an Armenian bishop residing in their country (τὸν ἐντιμώτατον ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ἐνταῦθα Ἀρμενίων = highly regarded bishop of Armenians here). The letter also informs that first the chamberlain will visit the sultan for some reason the

envoys sent by the Catholicos thought necessary. Then the delegation will deliver the emperor's edict (τό τε σεπτὸν πρόσταγμα τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἁγίου μου αὐτοκράτορος = the most respectful order of my most mighty and holy sovereign) and this our (ἡμετέραν) letter, from which you will know how delighted we were to accept your conversion (ὑμῶν μεταβολὴν). Returning to the issue of Armenians being converted in Byzantium the Patriarch assures that no pressure was applied and that they joined their holy church by their own free will. Nevertheless he promises to immediately consider the issue of their governance and establishment of peace, if the Catholicos wishes this. The Patriarch is impatiently waiting for the return of envoys in order to receive final information about the true conversion and rectification of Armenians. The letter closing (*corroboration*) expresses no hesitation in becoming one body to the glory of Christ. The farewell line, part of the *eschatocol* reads: "Be safe in the Lord, dear Catholicos, highly honorable (Ἐρρωσο, ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀγαπητὲ καθολικέ, ἄτιμιώτατε)"⁵⁶.

According to the title (*protocol*), the second letter is addressed to the great king of Cilicia, Isauria and All Armenians (Υψηλότατε ῥῆξ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἰσαυρίας καὶ πάσης Ἀρμενίας καὶ περιπόθετε ἐξάδελφῃ τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἁγίου μου αὐτοκράτορος = to the greatest king of Cilicia, Isauria and All Armenians and the most beloved brother of my most mighty and holy sovereign⁵⁷). In the preamble (*prooimion*) the Patriarch (ἡ μετρίότης ἡμῶν = my

⁵⁶ See the last critical edition of this letter in: Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. 1. Teil: Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315–1331 / Herausgegeben von H. Hunger und O. Kresten, unter mitarbeit von Carolina Cupane, Walter Fink, Wolfram Hörander, Ewald Kislinger, Peter E. Pieler, Gerhard Trür, Reinhard Willvonseder, Herbert Wurm, Wien, 1981 [CFHB, vol. XIX/1], S. 590–598.

⁵⁷ Interestingly in the form of address the Armenian king is named "the most beloved brother" of the Byzantine emperor.

humble self) sending his best wishes, expresses his satisfaction to God and prays for keeping his kingdom safe (τὴν ῥηγικὴν σου ἐξουσίαν = your royal power) so that the king may support the undertaking more energetically – also his great desire. In the body of the letter (*narratio*) he notifies that he has received the letter from the envoy sent by the king (τῆς ῥηγικῆς σου ἐξουσίας), which after reading he (ἡ μετριότης ἡμῶν = my humble self) and the holy high priests (οἱ ... ἱερώτατοι ἀρχιερεῖς = holy chief priests) learned about the king's authoritative consent (ἡ ῥηγικὴ σου ἐξουσία), which the Armenian Catholicos has conveyed to them (ὁ αἰδεσμώτατος καὶ τιμιώτατος καθολικὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν Ἀρμενίων = the most respected and most honorable Catholicos of the Armenian Church) with that of the people. He assures the king (ἡ ῥηγικὴ σου ἐξουσία and τῆς ῥηγικῆς σου ἐξουσίας) that his request was approved along with that of the Catholicos (τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου καὶ τιμιωτάτου καθολικοῦ) since they are good overseers who desire the salvation of those separated from them.

With your reversion our church (τὴν ἡμετέραν ἁγίαν καὶ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν = our holy and oecumenical church) was thankful for God's mercy, since He did not allow us to follow wrong dogmas and be separated from the church. We have written about it to the Catholicos (τὸν αἰδεσιμώτατον καθολικόν) and now to you (τὴν ῥηγικὴν σου ἐξουσίαν) that after the successful outcome of the deed we shall become the communicants of God.

To bring the prevailing situation to a good end he is sending Michael Kallikrinites (πανσέβαστον τὸν σεβαστὸν οἰκεῖον τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ ἁγίῳ μου αὐτοκράτορι, προκαθήμενον τοῦ Θεοφυλάκτου κοιτῶνος τῆς ἁγίας βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, κύρ Μιχαὴλ Καλλικρηνίτης = the most regarded sebastos, relative of my most mighty and holy sovereign, the chief chamberlain of the palace of the God-blessed holy empire Lord Michael Kallikrinites) together with hieromonk Lord Gabriel (τὸν τιμιώτατον ἐν ἱερομονάχοις

κύρ Γαβριήλ = most honorable hieromonk Lord Gabriel) and the bishop of our local Armenians (τὸν ἐντιμώτατον τῶν ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ἐνταῦθα Ἀρμενίων = most highly regarded bishop of the Armenians here⁵⁸).

Upon the request of your envoys (οἱ αὐτόθεν ἐλθόντες ἀποκρισιάριοι) the chamberlain (προκαθήμενος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κοιτῶνος = the royal chamberlain) will firstly go to the sultan (τὸν σουλτάνον), and those who are sent with him will deliver to you (τὴν ῥηγικὴν σου ἐξουσίαν) the emperor's (τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἁγίου μου αὐτοκράτορος = of my most mighty and holy sovereign) edict (τὸ σεπτὸν χρυσόβουλλον = the venerable decree)⁵⁹ as well as this letter of the Patriarch (ἡμετέραν = our), by which they convey their behests.

In the *corroboratio* he stresses that the local Armenians there have converted without violence, and that the rumors are not true. Returning to the problem of the new converts, the Patriarch assures in the letter closing that no pressure had been applied to them and that they reverted to their holy church by their own free will. Anyway the Patriarch is ready to undertake their governance and establish peace if that would please the king (ἡ ῥηγικὴ σου ἐξουσία = if it pleases your royal authority). He wishes speedy completion of the church union by God's benevolence and intercession of the Holy Virgin⁶⁰. The ending (*eschatocol*) containing the farewell form and date has not reached us.

In the form of address the Armenian Catholicos is referred to

⁵⁸ Most probably they meant the convert Chalcedonian bishop of Constantinople once subject to the Armenian Catholicos.

⁵⁹ Probably that was the title of the document written at the imperial chancery, which has not reached us.

⁶⁰ See the critical edition of this letter in: Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. 1. Teil: Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315–1331..., [CFHB, vol. XIX/1], S. 598–604.

as “Αἰδεσιμώτατε, τιμιώτατε, εὐλαβέστατε καθολικὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν Ἀρμενίων” (most respectable, most honorable and most pious Catholicos of the Armenian Church), while in the farewell form as ἀγαπητὲ (dear / beloved), ἄνερ τιμιώτατε (man of high honor). The form of addressing the Armenian king Levon IV is quite special “ὕψηλότητε ῥῆξ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἰσαυρίας καὶ πάσης Ἀρμενίας καὶ περιπόθητε ἐξάδελφε τοῦ κρατίστου μου αὐτοκράτορος” (king of Cilicia, Isauria and All Armenia and the most beloved brother of my most mighty and holy sovereign). The Patriarch continuously addresses the king with the words: τῆς ῥηγας (or ῥηγικῆς) σου ἐξουσίας (your royal authority). In the original letter addressed to the king the Catholicos is thrice named ὁ αἰδεσιμώτατος καὶ τιμιώτατος καθολικὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν Ἀρμενίων (most respectable and honorable Catholicos of the Armenian Church) as well as ἐντιμώτατος (most respected).

The set forms of address in the aforementioned documents show the Byzantine imperial and patriarchal chanceries’ change in attitude towards the Cilician Armenian Kingdom and Catholicosate beginning from the end of the 12th until the ‘30s of the 14th century – which also means that in the course of time there was some correction in the geo-political vector of the empire’s eastern policy. Unfortunately, apart from these documents none of the Byzantine historiographic, ecclesiastical or secular literary sources provides any information concerning the Cilician Armenian state.

CHAPTER 2

THE CILICIAN ARMENIAN STATE IN NEAR EASTERN SOURCES

1. THE IMAGE OF CILICIAN ARMENIA IN ANATOLIAN MUSLIM SOURCES

(XIII – Early XIV Centuries)

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1. Introduction

Political relations between the Muslim states in Anatolia and Cilician Armenia have been well studied. The detailed coverage of these relations provided by contemporaneous Arab, Armenian, Persian, Syrian and other sources, both written and material, has been meticulously studied and entered into the history of scholarship including the classical works by Claude Cahen, Osman Turan, Gérard Dédéyan, Vahan Ter-Ghevondian, Claude Mutaftian, et al., enabling us to reconstruct the course and chronology of events as well as their historical significance.¹ However, almost exclusive interest in the “external”, purely political issues obscures the problem of peaceful contacts between the Muslim Anatolian

¹ **Cahen Cl.**, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*. Istanbul, 1988 (see also the brief English translation: **Cahen Cl.**, *The Formation of Turkey. The Seljukid Sultanate of Rûm: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*, Harlow, 2001); **Turan O.**, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye, Siyâsi Ta'rikh Alp Arslan'dan Osman Gazi'ye (1071–1318)*, Istanbul, 1971; *Histoire du peuple arménien*, ed. **Gérard Dédéyan**, Toulouse, 2007; **Dédéyan G.**, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, musulmans et croisés*, Lisbonne, 2003; **Ter-Ghevondian V.**, *L'Arménie Cilicienne et les pays arabes du Proche-Orient*, Erevan, 2005; **Mutaftian Cl.**, *Le Royaume Arménien de Cilicie, XI^e–XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 2002; **Yıldız S. N.**, *Reconceptualizing the Seljuk-Cilician Frontier: Armenians, Latins and Turks in Conflict and Alliance during the Early Thirteenth Century: Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. **Florin Curta**, Turnhout, pp. 91–120 (see further bibliographical references here).

and Cilician-Armenian cultural areas. Certainly this is mainly due to the very specifics of medieval narrative sources being more focused on rendering the political and military history. This article deals with another aspect of the problem, namely the study of the Seljuq-Armenian relations from the point of view of the history of ideas. It is an attempt at reconstructing what was known in Muslim Anatolia about Cilician Armenia – its rulers, population, geography, etc. – that is presented below in the following sequence: 1) first, presented as a *regesta* will be an analytical summary of all historically significant topics in thirteenth to early fourteenth-century Muslim Anatolian sources relating to Cilician Armenians; 2) then will follow the discussion of the Armenian Cilician geographic nomenclature found in Muslim Anatolian sources; 3) further on, I will discuss the terminology of Anatolian authors regarding the Cilician rulers, nobility and population; 4) finally, the scarce data concerning the material culture of the Cilician Armenians will be collected and commented on.

2. Anatolian Muslim Sources

The historiography of Muslim Anatolia, which originated at the very end of the twelfth century, has been described in scholarship quite well.² However, we still have no reliable critical edi-

² See e.g.: **Cahen Cl.**, *The historiography of the Seljuqid period*, in *Historians of the Middle East*, v. 4, ed. Lewis and P. M. Holt, Oxford, 1962, pp. 59–78; **Köprülü M.F.**, *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Their History and Culture According to Local Muslim Sources*, transl. and ed. by G. Leiser, Salt Lake City, 1992; **Melville Ch.**, *The Early Persian Historiography of Anatolia: History and historiography of post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East*, *Studies in honor of John E. Woods*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer & Sholeh A. Quinn, Wiesbaden, 2006, pp. 135–166; **Hillenbrand C.**, *Some Reflections on Seljuq Historiography: Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, ed. A. Eastmond, Aldershot, 2000, pp. 73–88.

tions of some sources. A brief review of narrative sources containing information on the subject in question is presented below in chronological order.

1. It seems appropriate to include in this review the work of the Persian historian Abū Bakr Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad Rāwandī (d. after 1206/1207) who finished his history of the Great Seljuqs "Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr", i.e. "Repose of Hearts", apparently in Anatolia and dedicated it to the sultan of Rūm Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykāwus (1192–1196, 1205–1211). Due to this, "Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr" includes some relevant information on the history of Anatolia.³

2. The unpublished treatise "Anīs al-qulūb", i.e. "Comrade of Hearts", belongs to the pen of qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn al-Anawī, who was born circa 1142 and died after 1222. His extensive work written in verse and belonging to the genre of *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, i.e. the hagiography of the prophets and saints of the Muslim tradition is preserved in a single copy kept at the Suleymaniye Library in Istanbul.⁴ The work was completed by 1211 and dedicated by the

³ On staying of Rawandi in Anatolia: Hillenbrand C., Ravandi, the Seljuq court at Konya and the Persianisation of Anatolian cities, Mesogeios (numéro spécial: Les Seldjoukides d'Anatolie), 25–6, 2005, pp. 157–169. See the detailed description of manuscripts, publications and studies in: Stori Č.A., Persidskaja literatura. Bio-bibliografičeskij obzor (Storey Ch. A., Persian literature. A bio-bibliographical survey), parts 2, Moscow, 1972, pp. 747–749 (in Russian). We have used the following edition of the chronicle: Muḥammad Rawandī, Rāḥat al-ṣudūr wa-āyat al-surūr, ed. by Muḥammad Iqbāl, Tehran, 1364 (hereinafter, Rawandī).

⁴ Istanbul, Süleymaniye, MS Ayasofya 2984. For most detailed information on the author and chronicle with accompanying bibliography see: Peacock A.C.S., Local Identity and Medieval Anatolian Historiography: Anavī's Anīs al-qulūb and Ahmad of Niğde's al-Walad al-shafīq, Studies on Persianate Societies 2, 2004, pp. 115–25, and especially the later work of the same: Peacock A.C.S., An Interfaith Polemic of Medieval Anatolia: Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn al-Anawī on the Armenians and their Heresies, in Islam and Christianity in Medieval

author to the sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus I in connection with his ascension to the throne. The biography of the author is interesting: Burhān al-Dīn al-Anawī was born in Armenian Ani, later spent some time in Georgian captivity and, in his own words, acquired substantial knowledge about Christianity.⁵ In his story about Jesus, al-Anawī makes an extensive digression where he begins a widely controversial polemic on the peculiarities of the Christianity professed by Armenians. Within the context of our topic, the part we are interested in has been published and commented on by Andrew Peacock.⁶ As Peacock has shown, it is possible that al-Anawī's anti-Armenian polemic was connected with the Seljuq-Armenian political relations in the first decade of the thirteenth century.⁷

3. The historical treatise by al-Husayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ja'farī al-Rughadī Ibn Bībī (d. after 1284/5) was the first ever "History" written in the Rūm Seljuqid state that has come to us and sheds light on the history of the Sultanate of Rūm from 1192 to 1280.⁸ Despite its brevity and sketchiness Ibn Bībī's evidence on the period preceding the enthronement of the sultan 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād is rather reliable and unique. This part of the work

Anatolia, ed. A.C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola and Sara Nur Yıldız, Ashgate 2015, pp. 233–262.

⁵ Peacock A.C.S., An Interfaith Polemic..., pp. 237–239.

⁶ Peacock A.C.S., An Interfaith Polemic..., pp. 239–242, 253–261 (publication and translation of the text).

⁷ Peacock A.C.S., An Interfaith Polemic..., pp. 246–251.

⁸ For more bibliographic information about Ibn Bībī and his parents see Stori Č.A., Persidskaja literatura, part 2, p. 1247 (in Russian); Erzi A. S., Ibn Bībī, IA. p. 5; Duda H. W., Die Seltschuukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī, Kopenhagen, 1959, pp. 2–6, hereinafter, Ibn Bībī (Duda); idem, Ibn Bībī, EI2; Köprülü M. F., The Seljuqs of Anatolia: Their History and Culture According to Local Muslim Sources, trans. and ed. G. Leiser, Salt Lake City, 1992, p. 10.

contains few dates, while the narration itself is based on relative dating, which is tentative enough. The events of 1219–1281 are described very scrupulously, many of them given precise dating. The major part of the chronicle is devoted to the history of the Rūm Seljuqids between 1237 and 1280. Particularly, Ibn Bībī paid special attention to the military history of the state as well as its civic institutions. Based on his political views, Ibn Bībī belonged to the strong anti-Mongol faction. At the same time several aspects of cultural history of the Islamic Rūm (literature, theology, Sufism) remain obscured.

The chronicle by Ibn Bībī is well known today under the title given by the author himself: “al-Awāmīr al-‘Alā’iyya fī al-umūr al-‘Alā’iyya” which can be translated as “The orders by ‘Ala [al-Dīn Juwaynī] regarding the deeds by ‘Alā [al-Dīn Kayqubād]”. As reflected in the title of Ibn Bībī’s narration this work was ordered by the Persian historian ‘Alā al-Dīn Juwaynī.⁹ However, the title of the book might have had another, much more general meaning too: “The orders by ‘Alā [al-Dīn Kayqubād] regarding the royal deeds”, which very likely was implied by the author himself.

The chronicle has come down to us in three versions: the full version, the only manuscript of which is kept today in Istanbul (Aya Sofya 2985), the abridged version called “Muḥtaṣar” (“muḥtaṣar” literally means “abridgment”) and the version that survives in Turkish translation. “Muḥtaṣar” was composed by an anonymous author in 1284/5 and survived in two manuscripts.¹⁰ A critical edition of the abridged version of the “Muḥtaṣar” has been published.¹¹ The full version of the Aya Sofya manuscript has been

⁹ Ibn Bībī (Duda), p. 5.

¹⁰ Stori Ć.A., Persidskaya literatura, part 2, pp. 1248–1249.

¹¹ Histoire des Seldjoudes d’Asie Mineure d’après l’abrégé du Seldjoucnameh d’Ibn Bībī, Texte persan publié ... par M. H. Houtsma. Leiden, 1902, hereinafter, Ibn Bībī (Houtsma).

published in facsimile form.¹² During the reign of the Ottoman sultan Murad II (1421–1451), Yazıcıoğlu ‘Alī included the translation of Ibn Bībī’s narration into his “Tawārīḥ-i Āl-i Saljūq” (or “Oğuznāmah”), omitting the name of the original author. The translator edited and partially enriched the Persian text, so that one more abridgement appeared as a result.¹³ Herbert Duda’s German translation of the “Muḥtaṣar”, supplemented with additions taken from the full version of the chronicle, deserves the highest evaluation; however, one should not forget that Duda’s translation was based on the abridged version of Ibn Bībī’s narration¹⁴ and, as my own experience shows, must always be collated with the full version.¹⁵

4. “Musāmarat al-aḥbār wa-musāyarat al-aḥyār” (A Talk of News and a Harmony of Good Things) is an important late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century source composed by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Karīm al-Dīn Āqsarāyī (b. mid-thirteenth century – d. between 1323–1327).¹⁶ Karīm al-Dīn finished his historical work

¹² Ibn Bībī. El-Evamirü'l-Ala'iyye fī'l-umuri'l-Ala'iyye, Onsöz ve fihristi hazirlayan A. S. Erzi, Ankara, 1956, hereinafter, Ibn Bībī (AS). The Turkish scholars made an attempt for typesetting the whole text, however only the first volume of it including the events prior to the enthronement of ‘Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād I appeared. Ibn Bībī, El-Evamirü'l-Ala'iyye fī'l-umuri'l-Ala'iyye, Neşr edenler N. Lugal, A. S. Erzi. T. 1, Ankara, 1957, hereinafter, Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi).

¹³ The narration by Yazıcıoğlu ‘Alī was published in parts: Histoire des Seldjoudes d’Asie Mineure d’après l’abrégé du Seldjoucnameh d’Ibn Bībī, Texte turc publié ... par M. H. Houtsma, Leiden, 1897. We also had at our disposal the Berlin manuscript: Yazıcıoğlu ‘Alī, Oğuzname, Handschrift d. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Orient, Quart, 1823 = Yazıcıoğlu ‘Alī (Berlin).

¹⁴ Ibn Bībī (Duda).

¹⁵ Additional information on Ibn Bībī and his narration can be acquired in Shukurov R., Ibn Bībī, Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle, ed. R.G. Dunphy, Leiden & Boston, 2010, pp. 830–831.

¹⁶ Some biographical data can be found in Storey Ch. A., Persidskaya literatura, part 2, p. 1251 (in Russian); Köprülü M. F., The Seljuqs of Anatolia, pp. 10–12;

in 1323 and dedicated it to the Mongol (Ilkhanid) governor of Anatolia Timurtash (1317–1327). The narration survives in two manuscripts: the full version is preserved in the library of Ayasofya (3143), while the corrupted one is in Yeni Cami (827).¹⁷ Āqsarāyī begins his narration with a discussion of the usefulness of history, as well as of major calendar systems (*aṣl-i awwal*). Then he turns to the history of the Islamic world from the Prophet Muḥammad (d. 632) to the Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century (*aṣl-i duwwum*). The focus of his interest here is the history of the Iranian and Rūm Seljuqs till the mid-thirteenth century (*aṣl-i sawwum*). The most detailed is the fourth chapter (*aṣl-i chahārum*) devoted to the history of Rūm in the second half of the thirteenth century. Karīm al-Dīn provides us with unique information, which appears to be independent from that of Ibn Bībī (Āqsarāyī did not mention his name, and, it seems, was unaware of the “Awāmīr al-‘Alā’iyya”). In his narration Karīm al-Dīn writes on the basis of his personal memories as well as reports left by contemporary witnesses. The revised and critical edition of the third and fourth chapters was implemented in 1944 by Othman Turan.¹⁸ There is also a detailed rendering of the chronicle done in German by F. İşıltan.¹⁹

Kerimuddin Mahmud Āqsarāyī, Musameret ul-ahbar, Moğollar zamanında Türkiye selçukluları Ta’rikhi / Mukaddime ve haşiyelerle tashih ve neşreden O. Turan, Ankara, 1944, hereinafter, Āqsarāyī, pp. 32–40; İşıltan F., Die Seltschuk-Geschichte des Akserayi, Leipzig, 1943, pp. 18–26; Becqué-Gramment J.-L., Al-Āqsarāyī, E2. A note in the manuscript of Ayasofya suggests with another possible reading, namely “Taḍkir-i Āqsarāyī” or “An anthology of Āqsarāyī” (Āqsarāyī, pp. 31, 366).

¹⁷ Storey Ch. A., Persidskaya literatura, part 2, p. 1252; Köprülü M. F., The Seljuqs of Anatolia, p. 11.

¹⁸ Āqsarāyī.

¹⁹ İşıltan F., Die Seltschuk-Geschichte des Akserayi.

5. The anonymous “Tawārīḥ-i Āl Seljuq” (The history of the House of Seljuq) appeared in the beginning of the fourteenth century.²⁰ It was written in popular Farsi with both syntactic and grammatical deflections from literary norms that had been rather common for medieval Anatolian urban centres. It is very likely that the Anonymous was an Iranian, perhaps a Khorasani by origin who might have had basic linguistic skills in Persian. Taking into account the fact that the author paid great attention to the so-called *aḥīs* (artisans’ guild, *futuwwa*) in his narration, one should not exclude the possibility that he himself belonged to that social group.²¹ The document contains oral traditions, which by their very nature border on folklore. Those few unique pieces of information found in the chronicle should be regarded with caution, because they often are imprecise or obscure, and sometimes rather enigmatic.

To sum up, Anawī’s work has not been published in full so far; the chronicle of Ibn Bībī still requires a comprehensive critical edition, while the work of Āqsarāyī still lacks a thorough publication of the first three chapters and, furthermore, its fourth chapter obviously deserves a new and up-to-date edition.

²⁰ A facsimile edition of the unique manuscript from the National Library in Paris was published in form of *Histoire des Seldjoukides d'Asie Mineure par un anonyme*, Texte persan publié par F. N. Uzluq, Ankara, 1952. The edition has an added Turkish translation which is full of shortcomings. A critical edition of the chronicle implemented by an Iranian scholar Nādīra Ġalālī offers the readers a more reliable text. Among the disadvantages of this publication one should mention the lack in it of both relevant annotation and strong argumentation (*Tārīḥ-e Āl-e Seljuq dar Anatoli compiled by Unknown Author*, ed. by N. Jalālī, Tehran, 1999, hereinafter, *Tārīḥ*).

²¹ Cf. Cahen Cl., Pre-Ottoman Turkey, pp. 153, 337, 353.

3. Cilician Armenian Regesta

1196

During the first reign of the Rūm Seljuq sultan Giyāt al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I (1192–1196), in the first few months following his dethroning by his brother and opponent Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān II (1196–1204), the sultan Giyāt al-Dīn was wandering in Anatolia in search of assistance against the usurper. The “*takfūr* Līfūn,” i.e. the ruler of Cilician Armenia, was the first king visited by the sultan. According to Ibn Bībī, Līfūn received Kaykhusraw I with a cordial welcome and gave numerous presents to the sultan. After spending one month in Cilicia the latter went to the north to Abilistān (Albistān) in North-East Anatolia.

Source: *Ibn Bībī* (AS), pp. 39–40; *Ibn Bībī* (Lugal-Erzi), pp. 55–56; *Ibn Bībī* (Houtsma), p. 9; *Ibn Bībī* (Duda), p. 23.

Literature: *Cahen*, La Turquie, p. 61; *Turan*, Selçuklular, pp. 247, 268.

Comments: Under *takfūr* Līfūn one should understand Levon II (1187–1198/9) who soon declared himself the King of Cilicia Levon I (1198/9–1219). In the letter written c. 1195, Nerses of Lambron called Levon “sovereign” (lit. “autocrat”; Arm. *Ḥūp-ḥuulḥuḥ* / *ink'nakal*), therefore it seems that at that time Cilicia no longer depended on the Byzantine Empire.

1204–1205

Characterizing the reign of the Seljuqid sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Qilij Arslan III b. Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān II (1204–1205)²², Ibn Bībī drew attention to the prestige of the Seljuqid dynasty of the time: “Islamic kings and sultans as well as Armenian *takfūrs* and *caesars* of Rome (here, Byzantine – R. Sh.) always happily

²² See on his rule: *Cahen*, La Turquie, pp. 65–67; *Turan*, Selçuklular, pp. 265–267.

acknowledged the grandeur of that noble family and supplied the [sultan’s] rich treasury with *ḥarāj* and *bājj*.”

...ملوک و سلاطین اسلام و تکافره ارمن و قیاصره روم بر ابتهاج منهاج تعظیم آن
دودمان کریم مواظبت می نمودند و خراج و باج بجزانه عامره می رسانید

In the abridged version of Ibn Bībī’s work, the wording of this passage is different and more simple.

Source: *Ibn Bībī* (AS), p. 76; *Ibn Bībī* (Lugal-Erzi), p. 110; *Ibn Bībī* (Houtsma), p. 24; *Ibn Bībī* (Duda), p. 36.

c. 1208/1209

Rawandi writes (without any specific details) about the victory of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw over the “Damned Līfūn” (i.e. Levon I) and capture of his fortresses and provinces (قلعها و ولايات). According to Āqsarāyī, after his re-enthronement in the Sultanate of Rūm in 1205, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw “seized the province of Qarāmān (قرامان) from Armenia (ارمنستان) and captured many fortresses.”

Source: Rawandi, pp. 463–464; Āqsarāyī, p. 32.

Literature: *Turan*, Selçuklular, p. 286; Ter-Ghevondian V. L’Arménie cilicienne, p. 97; Yıldız S.N. Reconceptualizing..., p. 100.

1211–1213

With the ascension of the sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus (son of Kaykhusraw I) in 1211, his brother ‘Alā al-Dīn, vying for the throne, besieged Kayseri (where the sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn then resided) and called for the assistance of his uncle Muğīt al-Dīn Tuğrul-šāh and King Levon I – promising Kayseri as a reward to the latter. However, ‘Izz al-Dīn convinced Levon I to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Kayseri and to not interfere with the mutiny.

After the withdrawal of the Armenians, the alliance of 'Alā al-Dīn and Tuğrul-šāh dissolved as a result of mutual distrust. 'Alā al-Dīn fled to Ankara where he was imprisoned by his brother.

The key role in negotiations between the sultan Kaykāwus I and King Levon I was played by Ġalāl al-Dīn Qaysar bearing the title of *shihna* of Kayseri. Ġalāl al-Dīn Qaysar mediated between the sultan and Levon I due to his "correspondence and great friendship since former times" with the Armenian king:

که میان ایشان در سابق حال مراسلات و مصادقات بسیار رفته بود

After defeating his brother, Kaykāwus I informed Levon I about it. In response the Armenian king sent rich gifts (see also Section 5).

Source: Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 114–121; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), pp. 162–171; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), pp. 40–44; Ibn Bībī (Duda), S. 51–55.

Literature: Cahen, *La Turquie*, p. 69; Turan, *Selçuklular*, pp. 294–297; Šukurov R.M., *Velikie Komniny i Vostok (1204-1461) (The Grand Komnenoi and The East, 1204-1461)*, Saint-Petersburg, 2001, pp. 95–97 (in Russian).

Commentary: The currently known sources provide no opportunity to accurately date these events. Relative dating based on Ibn Bībī's text allows us to date the beginning and end of the siege of Kayseri with the second half of 1211, after June of that year. Smbat Sparapet also dates the campaign of Levon I to 1211. Judging by Ibn Bībī, the siege of Ankara lasted at least a year "from early spring to the early spring of the next year,"²³ i.e. either from 1212 to 1213, or from 1213 to 1214, and accordingly 'Alā al-Dīn was captured either in the spring of 1213 or in the spring of 1214. Ibn Bībī states that Ankara surrendered soon after the spring equinox (20–21 of March) when "the banners of the king of stars

(i.e. the Sun – R. Sh.) reached the point of spring equinox..."²⁴ Abū al-Fidā (actually not quite precise in detailing) dates the imprisonment and transmittal of 'Alā al-Dīn to Melitene by 610 of Hiğra.²⁵ The lunar 610 lasted, according to the Solar calendar, from May 23, 1213 to May 12, 1214, consequently, relying on Abū al-Fidā and Ibn Bībī, one should place the fall of Ankara in the spring of 1214 (the period between the end of March and the beginning of May).

The sultan succeeded in persuading Levon I to withdraw his forces from Kayseri, and the Erzurum's emir withdrew following the Armenians. The decision of the Armenian-Turkish allies was influenced by Ayyubid Malik Ashraf's interference in the conflict. He was an old enemy of the Erzurum rulers who had decided to support the Seljuq sultan.

Despite our sources' silence about the participation of the Pontic Greeks in this confrontation, Michael Kurshanskis is probably right in suggesting that, aside from Levon I and Tuğrul-šāh, who tried to help 'Alā al-Dīn, the latter concluded an alliance with Alexios I Megas Komnenos.²⁶ Moreover, Alexios I was the closest and perhaps the strongest neighbor of 'Alā al-Dīn's domain in Dānishmandiya. Another argument in favor of this suggestion is the fact that later (at the end of the 1210s and 1220s) the Komnenoi had been sustaining good relations with another member of this alliance: the emir of Erzurum, whose domain adjoined the southeastern frontiers of the Komnenoi Chaldia. The alliance of Trebizond and Erzurum might have been established as early as in 1214. These considerations support Kurshanskis's suggestion.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.9–10.

²⁵ *Abu-l-Feda, Annales musulmici. Arabice et latine*, ed. I.G.C. Adler. T. 4. Hafniae, 1792, pp. 248–250.

²⁶ Kuršanskis M., *L'empire de Trébizonde et les turcs au 13e siècle*, RÉB 46, 1988, pp. 109–124.

²³ Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), p. 49.1–2, and p. 49.9.

The tax collectors who came to the sultan Kaykāwus I from the Sultanate's borders with the country of Levon complained that the *takfūr* of Sīs [i.e. Levon I] did not pay tribute. Next spring [i.e. in 1216], the Seljuq troops went to conquer the country of Levon. Having heard about the approaching troops, *takfūr* prepared for defense. Muslims seized the fortress Ḥanḡīn (خانجین). Paron Vasil (*fāsīl*), Paron Oshin (*ūshīn*) and the constable were called by Levon to defend the fortress of Kanjī. However, the Seljuqs conquered Kanḡī and captured the constable, Paron Oshin and Noshin (*nūshīn*). As a result the sultan Kaykāwus I and Levon I signed a peace treaty imposing tribute payment upon Cilicia. The Sultan, having received the deed of agreement signed by Levon I, released the [noble] prisoners.

Source: Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 160–171; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), pp. 224–238; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), pp. 60–67; Ibn Bībī (Duda), S. 70–76.

Literature: Cahen, *La Turquie*, p. 69; Turan, *Selçuklular*, pp. 294–297; Ter-Ghevondyan V. *L'Arménie cilicienne*, pp. 98–99; Yıldız S.N. *Reconceptualizing...*, pp. 101–104.

1221

1. According to Ibn Bībī, during the reign of the sultan 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād I, the emirs reported that "the Greek lands (يونان)" [i.e. southeastern Anatolia] including Antalya were under the sultan's control. However, [in order to strengthen the border], the impregnable fortress of Kalonoros, which from the land was under the rule of Sīs and paid tribute to Egypt from the sea, had to be conquered. The sultan gathered troops equipped with siege machines, which he divided into three parts. One of the army parts was embarked on ships. The sultan's troops besieged the fortress owned by Kīr Fārd / Wārd. The siege lasted two months. Kīr Fārd / Wārd,

who was in close relations with Antalya's *sūbāshī* emir Mubārīz al-Dīn Ertokush, sent an ambassador to him to mediate for peace. Kīr Fārd / Wārd surrendered to the sultan and gave one of his daughters to Kayqubād I who married her in accordance with the precepts of the prophet Muḥammad [i.e. Sharia]. In return Kīr Fārd / Wārd received control of Akşehir near Konya and several large villages; this was stipulated by a *manshūr*-deed. Kalonoros was renamed after the sultan's name 'Alāiyya. The anonymous "Ta' rīḥ" adds that in total the sultan captured seven fortresses.

Source: Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 235–248; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), pp. 97–102; Ibn Bībī (Duda), S. 104–109; Ta' rīḥ, pp. 89.

Literature: Cahen, *La Turquie*, pp. 74–75; Turan, *Selçuklular*, pp. 335–337; Yıldız S.N., *Reconceptualizing...*, pp. 106–107.

Commentary: "Kīr Fārd", called so by Ibn Bībī, is designated in "Ta' rīḥ" in a phonetically more accurate form as *kīr wārd* (وارد کیر), i.e. the Armenian *Kir Vard* (Կիր Վարդ). Judging by his name Kīr Wārd was a Chalcedonian Armenian, belonging to the Byzantine Orthodox part of the Cilician nobility. His name in Greek would look like *kūp Bápδας*. Interestingly, after the loss of Kalonoros, Kīr Wārd became the sultan's governor in Akşehir, thus joining the circle of Seljuq Christian nobility. Information on other representatives of Christian nobility and bureaucracy in the sultanate is, albeit fragmentary, quite ample – including particularly the Greeks belonging to the Mavrozomes, Komnenos, Gavras families, brothers Kyr Ḥāya and Kyr Kattidios, and others.²⁷

²⁷ See for instance Métivier S., *Les Maurozômai, Byzance et le sultanat de Rûm*. Note sur le sceau de Jean Comnène Maurozômès, *Revue des Études byzantines* 67, 2009, pp. 197–207; Yıldız S.N., *Manuel Komnenos Maurozomes and His Descendants at the Seljuk Court: The Formation of a Christian Seljuk-Komnenian Elite*, in Stefen Leder, ed. *Crossroads between Latin Europe and the Near East: Corollaries of the Frankish Presence in the Eastern Mediterranean (12th–14th Centuries)*, Würzburg, 2011, pp. 55–77; Wittek P., *L'épithaphe d'un*

The Persian name of the daughter of Kīr Wārd, who married 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād I, was Māh-Parī-Ḥātūn (ماه پری خاتون). Her Christian name is unknown. Māh-Parī-Ḥātūn was the mother of the sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II.²⁸ Bearing in mind her confession, 'Azīz Astarābādī, a historian of the end of the fourteenth century, wrote that she was of "Byzantine descent" (لاصل رومية).²⁹ During the lifetime of her husband she confessed her Christian faith, as Ghiyāth al-Dīn II told about his mother during negotiations with the Latin emperor in 1243.³⁰

The Christian identity of Māh-Parī-Ḥātūn is not a surprise. The sources contain several detailed reports that the harem women were allowed to confess Christianity. Firstly, I mean the above-mentioned negotiations between Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II and

Comnène à Konia, Byzantion 10, 1935, pp. 505–515; Wittek P., Encore l'Épithaphe d'un Comnène à Konia, Byzantion 12, 1937, pp. 207–211; Bartikian H., Les Gaurades à travers les sources arméniennes, L'Arménie et Byzance. Histoire et culture (Byzantina Sorbonensia 12), Paris, 1996, pp. 19–30; Shukurov R., The Oriental Margins of the Byzantine World: A Prosopographical Perspective, Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204, ed. Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain, Aldershot, 2011, pp. 167–196.

²⁸ Cahen Cl., La Turquie, pp. 74, 170 (about the Greek origin of Kīr Farid / Kīr Wārd; however, "Greek" is to be understood in a confessional sense, religiously, i.e. Chalcedonian, and not always ethnically); Turan O., Selçuklular. S. 336–337, 403–404; Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 247; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), p. 102. Cf. The Later Crusades. 1189–1311, ed. R. Wolff & H. Hazard [A History of the Crusades, ed. K. M. Setton. Vol. II]. London, 1969, p. 692 n. 12.

²⁹ 'Aziz ibn Ardashir Astarabadī, Bazm-u razm, M.F. Köprülü-zade tarafından eser ve müellifi hakkında yazılan bir mukaddimeyi havidir, İstanbul, 1928, p. 45.

³⁰ Du Cange, Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs français, ed. J. A. Buchon. Paris, 1826, pp. 289–290; Turan O., Les souverains seldjoukides, p. 82; The Later Crusades: 1189–1311, p. 223; Cahen Cl., La Turquie, p. 94. See also: Tekinalp V.M., Palace churches of the Anatolian Seljuks: Tolerance or Necessity?, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 33/2, 2009, p. 161.

the Latin Emperor of Constantinople Baldwin II (1228–1261). These negotiations were described in detail in Baldwin II's letter to the Queen of France, Blanca of Castile (August 1243). The sultan asked Baldwin II for the hand of one of his relatives; at the same time he guaranteed that his Frankish wife would be free to confess Christianity and would have a chapel and priests in the palace. Further on, the sultan argued that he was absolutely not against this, since he himself was the son of a Christian woman (i.e. Māh-Parī-Ḥātūn), and his father allowed her to follow the Greek Christian religion (*lege Christiana Graeca*).³¹ This would have been the fourth Christian wife of the Sultan, but the planned union never did happen.

In addition, in 1237, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II, while marrying Tamar, the daughter of the Georgian queen Rusudan, promised that he would allow her to practice Christianity. The princess in the Seljuq harem had her Christian priests and Christian servants until his Georgian wife converted to Islam.³² At the same

³¹ The sultan also promised to build Christian churches in all cities of his country and to care for the priests serving there; besides he promised that all his Christian subjects, the Greek and Armenian hierarchs would recognize the jurisdiction of the Constantinople Latin Patriarchy and Roman Church: Du Chesne A. & Du Chesne F., Historeyæ Francorum scriptores coetanei, ab ipsius gentis origine, t. 5. Paris, 1649, pp. 424–426; Du Cange, Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople... pp. 289–291; Hendrickx B., Régestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople (1204–1261/1272), Βυζαντινά, 14, 1988, p. 143 № 221; Analysis of the letter: Eastmond A., Gender and Patronage... p. 84.

³² The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l-Faraj the son of Aaron, ed. E.A.W. Budge, Vol. 1: Translation from Syriac, London, 1932, pp. 403–404; Brosset M., Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIX^e siècle, t. 1. Saint-Petersburg, 1849, pp. 501–502. See more details about her life: Vryonis Sp., Another Note on the Inscription of the Church of St. George of Beliserama, Βυζαντινά, 9, 1977, pp. 11–22. Vryonis suggested, not groundlessly, that her close ties with the order of Mawlawī might be erroneously interpreted by

time, we know that in the 1280s, many years after the death of the sultan, Tamar was a donor to the church of Belisırma in Cappadocia, thus demonstrating her ties with the Christian community of the sultanate.³³

Christian wives of the sultans had Christian servants. For example, we know about the slave of Māh-Parī-Ĥātūn (غياث الدين) named Faḥr al-Dīn Sebastos (سيواستوس *sīwāstūs*), whose likely Greek origin was first noticed by V.A. Gordlevsky.³⁴ The second part of Faḥr al-Dīn's name Sebastos points to Greek roots (← σεβαστός).³⁵ In the 1240s he played a prominent role in establishing Rukn al-Dīn Qılıç-Arslan IV into power, taking part in his embassy to the Great khan Güyük.³⁶ Ethnically, Sebastos could be either Chalcedonian Armenian or Anatolian Greek.

Bar-Ebre as conversion to Islam (p. 19).

³³ Vryonis Sp., Another Note..., pp. 11–18; Shukurov R.M., Iagupy: tjurkskaja familija na vizantijskoj službe (Iagups: A Turkish family in the Byzantine service), *Vizantijskie očerki*, Saint-Petersburg, 2006, pp. 210–217 (in Russian).

³⁴ Gordlevskij V.A., Gosudarstvo sel'džukidov Maloj Azii (The State of the Seljuqs in Asia Minor), Moskow-Leningrad, 1941, p. 160 (in Russian); Cahen Cl., La Turquie, p. 170; Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 584; Ibn Bībī (Duda), p. 253.

³⁵ Nevertheless his impressive nickname "Sebastos" did hardly testify to noble descent. In Byzantium of that time the family- or nickname Σεβαστός most frequently belonged to ordinary people (the parics, copyists, the black clergy), see: PLP, NN 25087–25096. Even if this name came from the Byzantine title (of some of Faḥr al-Dīn's predecessors) it would only indicate to some lower officialdom. See in detail: Kazhdan A. P., Sebastos, ODB Vol. III, p. 1863; Guillard R., Recherches sur les institutions byzantines, t. 2. Berlin, 1967, p. 25; Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des offices : Introduc., texte et traduc. par J. Verpeaux, Paris, 1966, p. 139 e.a. (see Index); Stiernon L., Notes de prosopographie et de titulature byzantines. Sébaste et gambros, REB, 23, 1965, pp. 222–243; idem, Note de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines: Théodora Comnène et Andronic Lapardas, sébastes, REB, 24, 1966, pp. 89–96.

³⁶ Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 584; Ibn Bībī (Duda), S. 253.

As a member of the sultan's family Māh-Parī-Ĥātūn was an active benefactor financing the construction of Muslim public and religious buildings in the Sultanate.³⁷ See about it also below, No. 1243/2.

2. After conquering Kalonoros, the sultan Kayqubād I left for Antalya and, while on his way, saw the fortress of Ālāra (Alar) high in the mountains, near a gorge with a flowing river. The fortress was owned by an unnamed brother of Kīr Fārd / Wārd, who was a monk. The ruler of the fortress was offered to surrender; the Seljuqs put forward an argument that his brother "could not defend the fortress of Kalonoros from us even for [as little as] a month":

قلعه کلونوروس را از ما یکماه نگاه نتوانست داشت.

Hearing the demand for surrender, the ruler of Ālāra fell ill with *qūlinj* (قولنج) and soon surrendered the stronghold.

Source: Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 249–251; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), pp. 103–104; Ibn Bībī (Duda), S. 109–110.

Literature: Cahen, La Turquie, p. 75; Turan, Selçuklular, p. 335; Yıldız S.N. Reconceptualizing..., p. 107.

Comment: The indication of the full version of Ibn Bībī's chronicle that they could not defend Kalonoros "even for a month" was erroneously rendered in "Muḥtaşar" (p. 103) – that the sultan approached Ālāra in "one month" after capturing Kalonoros. This statement of "Muḥtaşar" is not found: neither in the full version of the chronicle nor in its Turkic translation.

Qūlinj in medieval medicine was a disease of the digestive system, characterized by colic and constipation. Appendicitis and the appendage perforation were considered as variants of *qūlinj*.

³⁷ Eastmond A., Gender and Patronage between Christianity and Islam in the Thirteenth Century, First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Istanbul, 2010, pp. 78–88.

c. 1225

According to Ibn Bībī, the Sultan 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād I sent troops led by the emir Mubārīz al-Dīn Ertukush, freedman of the sultan and the ruler of Antalya at that time, and the emir Komnenos Maurozomos to conquer the coast from the Franks. The sultan's troops besieged the fortress of Ġāncī. The defenders of the fortress wrote a letter appealing to "takwar Līfūn". "Līfūn" sent messages to the coastal Franks (فرنگان سواحل), as well as those from *b -' - r-ā-s* (عراس), Antioch (انطاك), *fr -?- r-ā-n* (فربران) and *- ū-ī* (بوی) - and called for help. However, it did not help: "Līfūn" fled from the fortress, the Franks were defeated, and the ruler of the fortress, who was a "monk" (كشيش), started negotiations. The envoys of "takwar Līfūn" promised to annually send 1000 riders and 500 archers, to stamp the name of the Seljuq sultan on coins and to pay *ḥarāj*. Thirty more fortresses were taken by the sultan's troops while he was considering "Līfūn's" proposal. Komnenos Maurozomos and others were distinguished for their heroism. The Seljuqs continued the conquest of the coastal area taking forty (چهل) other fortresses, and specifically, Manolat (مافغا), Anduſca (اندوشيجا), Sik (سيكيه), Anamur (انامور) and "Nikiya" (نيكيه). The population of the fortresses was referred to as "Franks" (فرنگان and فرنگ). At first, the defenders actively resisted but then they boarded the ships and fled. Mubārīz al-Dīn wanted to attack also the "island of the Franks"; i.e. Cyprus, but the sultan ordered him to return to Kayseri.

According to the anonymous "Ta'riḥ" the above campaign was induced by "complaint against the *malik* of the 'fortress of Līfiyūn'" and happened three years after the capture of Kalonoros. The sultan captured the "fortress of Līfiyūn" and the neighboring region. The conquered lands were given to the care of Aqsunqur Thiyābī (آفسنقر ثيابی).

Source: Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 305–306, 334–343; Ibn Bībī

(Houtsma), pp. 129, 138–142; Ibn Bībī (Duda), S. 131, 140–142; Ta'riḥ, p. 89.

Literature: Cahen, La Turquie, p. 75; Turan, Selçuklular, pp. 342–347; Yıldız S.N. Reconceptualizing..., p. 107–109.

Comment: Probably the regent Kostandin Payl is implied under "takwar Līfūn". Perhaps the so-called Armenian-Seljuq coins with both Armenian and Arabic-Persian legends³⁸ first appeared at that time.

The statements in "Ta'riḥ" concerning the cause, dating and course of the campaign are not quite clear and reliable. Aqsunqur Thiyābī mentioned here is not known from other sources.

1243

1. Ibn Bībī informs about the letters (منشور) sent by the Seljuq sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II to his Seljuq allies requesting to send troops to withstand the Mongols. In particular, such a request was sent to the "*bayl* of Sīs," who was commanded, in accordance with the treaty, to quickly come to the sultan with the "Frankish" army; in exchange for his help the Sīs ruler was promised Herakleia (اراکليه) and a certain amount of money (خزانه) was sent to him. In response the "*bayl* of Sīs" confirmed his obedience (عبوديت) to the sultan's wish.

Source: Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 518–519; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), p. 236 (the passage is given very briefly); Ibn Bībī (Duda), S. 224–225 and n. 198.

Commentary: The "*bayl* of Sīs" was either Kostandin Payl or

³⁸ Cahen, La Turquie, p. 89; Bedoukian P. Z., The Bilingual Coins of Hetoum I (1226–1270), King of Cilician Armenia, ANSMN, 7, 1957, pp. 219–230. Based on the dating of the Armenian-Seljuk confrontation, P. Bedoukian dates the appearance of these coins by 1228–1229.

King Hetum I himself. Herakleia was located on the border of Cilician Armenia, modern Ereğli in Eastern Turkey.

2. Ibn Bībī, relating about the gathering of the Seljuq army at Köse-Dağ for combating the Mongols, mentioned that the arrival of the “*bayl* of Sis” with three thousand cavalymen from among the Armenians and Franks was expected in two days.

Source: Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 522; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), p. 238; Ibn Bībī (Duda), S. 226 and n. f.

Literature: Cahen, La Turquie, p. 96; Turan, Selçuklular, p. 432.

Comment: Here too the “*bayl* of Sis” might mean either Kostandin Payl or the king Hetum I himself. As it seems, the Armenian army never arrived at Köse Dağ.

3. The Cilician Armenians’ giving up of the mother [Māh-Parī-Ḥātūn] and the daughter of the sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II to the Mongol commander Bayju: “[the Armenians] detained the sultan’s mother and daughter and did not allow them to go away to the Muslim lands; finally they were given up to the Mongols”.

Source: Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 528, 536; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), pp. 241, 245; Ibn Bībī (Duda), p. 234.

Literature: Cahen, La Turquie, pp. 96; 230; Turan, Selçuklular, pp. 442, 452–455. Cf.: The Later Crusades: 1189–1311, ed. R. Wolff & H. Hazard [A History of the Crusades, ed. K.M. Setton. Vol. II], London 1969, p. 692; Shukurov R., Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of the Seljuq princes, in The Seljuqs of Anatolia: The Court and the Society in the Medieval Middle East,

ed. Andrew C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız, London 2012, p. 117 and ref. 8.³⁹

Comment: In 1243, during the war with the Mongols, Māh-Parī-Ḥātūn, along with the wife and daughter of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II went to her homeland, Cilician Armenia. At first, the sultan sent his mother and other women to Kayseri / Caesarea, but after losing the battle at Köse Dağ, when the Mongols approached Kayseri, the women, possibly on their way to Aleppo, sought refuge in Sis, in Cilician Armenia. However, when the news of the Seljuq defeat arrived, the Armenians detained the women and surrendered them to the Mongols. According to Kirakos,⁴⁰ the sultan’s wife was also among these women: the Tatars demanded “the extradition of the sultan’s mother, his wife and daughter, who ran away and hid in [Cilicia].” The extradition of the sultan’s mother and sister is confirmed by Smbat Sparapet.⁴¹ Both Kirakos Ganjakec’i and Smbat Sparapet maintained that king Hetum I received an order from Bayju to surrender the sultan’s harem and he did so against his own will, only out of fear of the Mongols. Bayju was very glad to capture the harem and endowed the Armenian ambassadors with rich gifts. It seems that the surrender of the sultan’s harem to the Mongols had a highly negative impact on the subsequent Seljuq-Armenian relations.

Māh-Parī-Ḥātūn did return to the Rūm Sultanate by 1254 since she was mentioned as being in the Sultanate in connection

³⁹ In this piece, I have suggested less likely ethnic background of Māh-Parī-Ḥātūn calling her Greek though most probably she was a Chalcedonian Armenian (see above).

⁴⁰ Kirakos Gandzakeci, *Istoriija Armenii* (History of Armenia), tr. by L.A. Xanlarjan, Moscow, 1976, p. 178.

⁴¹ Galstjan A., *Armjanskije istočniki o mongolax. Izvlečenija iz rukopis’ej XIII–XIV vekov* (Armenian sources on Mongols: Extracts from manuscripts of XIII–XIV cc.), 1962, p. 47 (in Russian).

with the embassy of 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād II to the khan Batu.⁴² The year of Māh-Parī-Ḥātūn's death is unknown.

1245

According to Ibn Bībī, *ṣāhib* Shams al-Dīn undertook the campaign against Cilician Armenia at the order of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II. The troops gathered at Konya, approached Herakleia (اراکلیه, Kybistra) and headed towards Tarsus. The showering rains that began during the siege of Tarsus compelled the warring parties to enter into negotiations. The Seljuq commander declared that the war was a punishment for treason after Köse-Dağ and demanded that the *takwar* [Hetum I] return the fortresses he had captured at that time. Having received this message the "*bayl* of Sīs" [i.e. Hetum I?] ordered to submit Prakana and a number of other fortifications, and sent old and future *ḥarājs* (both unpaid). Because of heavy rains the Seljuq troops had great difficulty reaching Herakleia.

The anonymous "Tā'rīḥ" adds that the campaign and siege of Tarsus lasted over seven full months (هفت ماه تمام). According to the erroneous statement in the "Ta'rīḥ", the campaign was led by the sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II himself, who "caught a cold and fell ill" (سلطان را هوا زد از آن سبب بیمار شد) by its end; the last statement about the disease, however, could have grounds considering the showering rains during the campaign mentioned by Ibn Bībī.

Source: Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 545–548; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), pp. 249–250; Ibn Bībī (Duda), pp. 237–239; Tā'rīḥ, p. 94.

Literature: Cahen, La Turquie, pp. 229–230; Turan, Selçuklular, p. 453.

1288

According to the anonymous "Ta'rīḥ", the Turks led by the Son of Qarāmān (پسر قرامان) had been ravaging the "land of Tarsus" (دیار طرسوس). *Takfūr* [Levon II] sent his vicegerent and rich gifts to the Mongol khan. At the time of his arrival the Khan was visited by the Seljuq sultan [Mas'ūd] and *ṣāhib* Faḥr al-Dīn. By the order of the khan Gaykhatu, the sultan and *ṣāhib* led the troops of the Mongols and Muslims to attack Qarāmān. The Son of Qarāmān fled and plundered Laranda. It happened by Thursday, 9th of dhū al-ḥiġġa in 686 (01/15/1288).

Source: Ta'rīḥ, p. 113.

Literature: Cahen, La Turquie, p. 281; Turan, Selçuklular, p. 590.

4. Geographical Nomenclature

1. Country Name

Anatolian Persian sources were quite unanimous in the terminological designation of Cilician Armenia. The first category of toponyms (or, maybe, more precisely, political names) applied to Cilician Armenia goes back to the ethnic name "Armenian", "Armenians". Indicative in this regard is the toponym and the ethnonym *arman* (ارمن)⁴³ originally associated with the designation of "Armenians" as people, as well as the adjective "Armenian" (*armanī* ارمنی). The toponym *arman* was widely used to designate all Armenian lands including, in particular, Cilician Armenia. The synonymic *armanistān* "Armenia" (ارمنستان) was another common name used to designate Armenia Major, Armenia Minor and Cilician Armenia.⁴⁴ *Arman* (ارمن) as the name of the country and

⁴² Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 607–608; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), p. 277; Ibn Bībī (Duda), S. 264.

⁴³ Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 91; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 133.

⁴⁴ Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 39, 342–343; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 55; Ibn Bībī

people is found in the composite terms such as *mamālik-i* and *mulk-i arman* (ملک، ممالک ارمن)⁴⁵, i.e. the “state of Armenia”, *wilāyat-i arman* (ولایت ارمن) “Region of Armenia”⁴⁶ and *bilād wa-diyār-i arman* “country and land of Armenia” (دیار و بلاد ارمن)⁴⁷. There is one more term for the country of the same root: *armaniyya* (ارمنیه), i.e. “Armenia”⁴⁸. These names were common for all areas inhabited by Armenians.

The second category of place-names includes the terms relating exclusively to Cilician Armenia. These terms represent or contain the names of major cities in Cilicia. The most widespread of them were: *Tarsūs* (طرسوس),⁴⁹ *Sīs / Sis* (سیس),⁵⁰ and *wilāyat-i sīs* “the region of Sis” (ولایت سیس),⁵¹ *mulk-i sīs* “the state Sis” (سیس ملک), *diyār-i tarsūs* (دیار طرسوس)⁵² used as the name of the entire country. In one case, a hybrid naming is given for the whole country: *armaniyya wa-tarsūs* (ارمنیه و طرسوس), i.e. “Armenia and Tarsus”.⁵³

2. Cities and Fortresses

Some of the Cilician cities and fortresses (قلعه) referred to in Anatolian sources are not yet identified. As mentioned above, the

(Houtsma), pp. 9, 129, 141, *Ibn Bībī* (Duda), S.23; *Āqsarāyī*, pp. 32, 201, 204.

⁴⁵ *Ibn Bībī* (AS), pp. 39, 118; *Ibn Bībī* (Lugal-Erzi), p. 55, 167; *Ibn Bībī* (Houtsma), p. 9; *Ibn Bībī* (Duda), S. 23.

⁴⁶ *Ibn Bībī* (AS), pp. 167, 334; *Ibn Bībī* (Lugal-Erzi), p. 233; *Ibn Bībī* (Houtsma), p. 138.

⁴⁷ *Ibn Bībī* (AS), pp. 39–40; *Ibn Bībī* (Lugal-Erzi), p. 55.

⁴⁸ *Tā’riḥ*, p. 94.

⁴⁹ *Ibn Bībī* (AS), p. 160; *Ibn Bībī* (Houtsma), p. 60.

⁵⁰ *Ibn Bībī* (AS), pp. 162, 169; *Ibn Bībī* (Lugal-Erzi), pp. 228, 235.

⁵¹ *Ibn Bībī* (AS), pp. 163, 545; *Ibn Bībī* (Lugal-Erzi), p. 229; *Ibn Bībī* (Houtsma), p. 249.

⁵² *Tā’riḥ*, p. 113.

⁵³ *Tā’riḥ*, p. 94.

most frequently referenced in the sources are the largest city centers of Cilician Armenia *Sīs* (سیس, Gr. Σίσιον, Arm. *Sis*)⁵⁴ and *Tarsūs* (طرسوس, Gr. Ταρσός, Arm. *Tarson*)⁵⁵. In one of the sources, the region of *Qarāmān* (قرامان) is referred to as a part of the Cilician kingdom.⁵⁶

A number of Cilician Armenian fortresses and castles, which are mentioned in the Seljuq sources, are listed below in alphabetical order. Their localization is given mainly by the well-known study of H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild, containing both detailed description of the written sources on these fortresses and a summary of archaeological data.⁵⁷

Ālāra (آلاره)⁵⁸ – Arm. *Uḡupui / Alara*. This fortress is mentioned in the “Coronation List” of Smbat Sparapet.⁵⁹ The fortress was located in the area of the modern village of Alara (on the eastern bank of the Ulugüney Çayı river), but its exact location is yet unknown.⁶⁰

Anāmūr (انامور)⁶¹ – Arm. *Uḡuḡnln / Anamuḡ*, Gr.

⁵⁴ *Ibn Bībī* (AS), p. 160; *Ibn Bībī* (Lugal-Erzi), p. 224.

⁵⁵ *Ibn Bībī* (AS), p. 160; *Ibn Bībī* (Lugal-Erzi), p. 224.

⁵⁶ *Āqsarāyī*, p. 32. For the Karaman-Turks in the context of the Seljuq-Cilician relation see: Yıldız S. N. Reconceptualizing..., pp. 114–119.

⁵⁷ Hellenkemper H., Hild F., Kilikien und Isaurien (Tabula Imperii Byzantini, Band 5), Wien, 1990.

⁵⁸ *Ibn Bībī* (AS), p. 249; *Ibn Bībī* (Houtsma), p. 103; *Ibn Bībī* (Duda), S. 109.

⁵⁹ *Le Connétable Sempad*. Chronique du royaume de la Petite Arménie, Recueil des historiens des Croisades, documents arméniens, t. 1, Paris, 1869, p. 638; Edwards R.W., The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia, Washington, 1987, p. 279.

⁶⁰ Hellenkemper H., Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit in der Grafschaft Edessa und im Königreich Kleiarmenien, Studien zur hiStoreyschen Siedlungsgeographie Südost-Kleinasien (Geographica hiStoreyca Band 1), Bonn, 1976, S. 17.

⁶¹ *Ibn Bībī* (AS), p. 343. Identified by G. Duda: *Ibn Bībī* (Duda), S. 142 Anm. d).

Ἀνεμούριον. This too is mentioned in the “Coronation List” of Smbat Sparapet.⁶² The fortress is identified with a modern Eski Anamur on the northeast edge of Cape Anamur (32°40' 36°00').⁶³

Andūshīg / Andawshij (اندوشيج)⁶⁴ – Arm. *Անդուշի* / *Anduška*, Gr. Ἀντιόχεια ἐπὶ Κράτῳ. This fortress is mentioned in Smbat Sparapet’s “Coronation List”⁶⁵. The fortress is reliably identified with the ruins of Güney Köy, 20 km southeast of Gazipaşa (32°20' 36°00').⁶⁶

Ġangīn (ڭنجين)⁶⁷ – Arm. *Ճանցի* / *Čanči*. This fortress is mentioned in the “Coronation List” by Smbat Sparapet.⁶⁸ The fortress is apparently identical to the castle of Kapnisperti known in Ottoman times as Çinçin Kalesi and now as Meryemçil Kalesi (36°20' 37°40').⁶⁹

Kāngīn (كانجين)⁷⁰ – Arm. *Կանցի* / *Kanč'i*. This fortress is mentioned in Smbat Sparapet’s “Coronation List”.⁷¹ The fortress was located near *Čanči* and is identical to the modern Çukurhisar, 22 km from Göksun (36°20' 37°40').

Kalūnūrūs (کلونوروس)⁷² – Arm. *Կալուսիւսա* / *Kalonořos*, Gr. Καλονόρος, “Beautiful Mount”. In Byzantine times, this fortress was mainly known as Κορακήσιον. In a Persian source, the

fortress is named Kanṭālū (كنطالو)⁷³ ← from Italian Candelore (Cardelor, Cardelloro). This fortress is mentioned in Smbat Sparapet’s “Coronation List”.⁷⁴ After the Seljuqs seized the fortress, it was renamed as ‘Alāiyya (Alaiya) and is now known as Alanya.

Māfaghā (مافاغا)⁷⁵ – Arm. *Մաֆաղա* / *Manolat*, Gr. Μάναυα, Μάναυα. A fortress north of Alar; this fortress is mentioned in Smbat Sparapet’s “Coronation List”.⁷⁶

Prākana (پراکنه)⁷⁷ – Arm. *Պրականա* / *Prakana*, Gr. Πρακάνα. This fortress is mentioned in Smbat Sparapet’s “Coronation List”.⁷⁸ The fortress was located in the area of Seleucia, but it is not exactly localized; perhaps it is identical with either modern Meydan Kalesi or Takkadın.⁷⁹

Sīkiya (سيكيه)⁸⁰ – Arm. *Սիկ* / *Sik*, Greek Σικαί. This fortress is mentioned in Smbat Sparapet’s “Coronation List”.⁸¹ It is identified with modern Softa Kalesi, 15 km northeast of Anamur (33°00' 36°00').⁸²

Two names are not identifiable. First, Ġangīn (ڭنجين)⁸³ taken by the Seljuqs during the campaign of 1216 (see Section 3 above). It is identified by scholars with the stronghold of *Čanči* seized in

⁶² Le Connétable Sempad, p. 638.

⁶³ Hellenkemper H., Hild F. Kilikien und Isaurien, S. 187–191.

⁶⁴ Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 343; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), p. 142 (اندوشيج). The toponym is identified by G. Duda: Ibn Bībī (Duda), S. 142 Anm. c).

⁶⁵ Le Connétable Sempad, p. 638; Edwards R. W., The Fortifications, p. 279.

⁶⁶ Hellenkemper H., Hild F., Kilikien und Isaurien, S. 191–193.

⁶⁷ Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 334 (ڭنجين); Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), p. 138; Ibn Bībī (Duda), S. 140.

⁶⁸ Le Connétable Sempad, p. 636; Edwards R. W. The Fortifications, p. 279.

⁶⁹ Hellenkemper H., Hild F., Kilikien und Isaurien, S. 287–288.

⁷⁰ Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 165; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 230.

⁷¹ Le Connétable Sempad, p. 636; Edwards R. W., The Fortifications, p. 279.

⁷² Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 235–248 (wrong diacritics on p. 243 : کلونوروس, on p. 250: کلونوروس); Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), pp. 97–102; Ibn Bībī (Duda), S. 104–109.

⁷³ Ta’riḥ, p. 89.

⁷⁴ Edwards R. W., The Fortifications, p. 279.

⁷⁵ Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 343; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), p. 142. See the identification in: Ibn Bībī (Duda), S. 142 Anm. b).

⁷⁶ Le Connétable Sempad, p. 638; Edwards R. W., The Fortifications, p. 279.

⁷⁷ Oğuznama, Berlin, f. 327; Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 547 (پراکنا); Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), p. 250 (پراکنا); Ibn Bībī (Duda), S. 239 Anm. c).

⁷⁸ Le Connétable Sempad, p. 637; Edwards R. W., The Fortifications, p. 279.

⁷⁹ Hellenkemper H., Hild F., Kilikien und Isaurien, S. 385.

⁸⁰ Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 343 (سيكيه).

⁸¹ Le Connétable Sempad, p. 638; Edwards R. W., The Fortifications, p. 279.

⁸² Hellenkemper H., Hild F., Kilikien und Isaurien, S. 421–423.

⁸³ Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 164 (ڭنجين); Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 229; Ibn Bībī (Duda), S. 71.

1225 (see Section 3 above); according to this interpretation the fortress of Čanči was taken twice within a nine-year interval.⁸⁴ However, the hostilities of 1216 and 1225 took place in quite different geographical areas. It may be cautiously assumed that *Haṅgin* and Čanči were two different fortresses though this hypothesis requires further verification. The second fortress, which is impossible to reliably identify, is Nikiya / Nigiya (نیکیه?, see Section 3.1225).⁸⁵ The only toponym graphically and phonetically close to it is the Armenian castle Neghir located between Canamella and Portella, now Mancınık Kalesi.⁸⁶ However such identification requires further verification.

One cannot but note a curious coincidence: 8 out of the 11 identified fortresses (that is, the majority) mentioned in Seljuq sources are listed in the famous “Coronation List” from the chronicle of Smbat Sparapet. It is also worth noting that Persian sources apparently reproduced the Armenian genitive case in the names of some fortresses, as, for instance, in Ġanġin ← *Ḫwūlānġi* / Čanč’oyñ and Kānġin ← *Ḫwūlānġi* / Kanč’oyñ.

5. Rulers and Population

1. The names of the Armenian kings

In Muslim Anatolian literature, the basic term for the Armenian kings of Cilicia, which was understood as the title of the supreme ruler, was تکور (t-k-w-r) and its variant تکفور (t-k-f-u-r). The terms تکور (t-k-w-r) and تکفور (t-k-f-u-r) go back to the Armenian *t’agavor* (թագավոր) “king” genetically related to Persian تاجور (tājwar) “the crowned head, monarch”. Perhaps the form تکور (t-k-w-r) pronounced as *tagavar* → *tagvar* (i.e., in modern script تگور)

→ *takwar* (تکور) was the earliest to appear in Persian-, Arabic- and Turkic-speaking Anatolia and in the adjacent Muslim territories familiar with the Armenian tradition and language. This suggestion is confirmed, specifically, by the preference given to this particular form in the chronicle of Ibn Bībī.⁸⁷ However, as it can be assumed, a new graphic and phonetic variant of the term تکفور (*takfūr*) appeared rather soon, being found in Persian Anatolian and Early Ottoman literature of the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries; this latter form of the term has entered the modern Persian, Turkish and Arabic languages. As early as the thirteenth century, Persian-speaking Anatolians could also use the Arabicized plural تکافره (*ta-kāfira*) for the title *takwar* / *takfūr*, as was the case of the text of Ibn Bībī. However, the Arabicized plural form apparently did not strike roots, because the copyists of Ibn Bībī did not understand it and mistakenly wrote it as تکاکره (*takākira*).⁸⁸

It should be noted that the title *takfūr* was used in the formal letters of Muslim sovereigns to officially address the Cilician kings. For example, the term is attested in “Dastūr” of Muḥammad *Naḥḡawānī*, a little-known collection of sample-letters for formal correspondence, which was compiled in the 1360s, but went back to Ilkhanid times. Thus, Muḥammad *Naḥḡawānī* maintained that “to the Christians [*isāwiyyān*] from the *takfūrs* of Sīs, Georgians, ‘Nazarenes’ [*naṣārī*, another term for Christians – R.Sh.], Armenians and Franks one should write in the following way: ‘To *takfūr* of Sīs who is the pādshāh and head of that community, the *basileus*, the noblest Faylakus, the glory of the House of Alexander, the refuge of the House of the Messiah, *takfūr* of Sīs’...”⁸⁹ As we see,

⁸⁷ Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 39, 116, 119 etc, Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), pp. 55, 166–167, 170 etc.

⁸⁸ Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 76 (erroneously تکاکره); Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 110 (erroneously تکاکره); cf.: Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), p. 24.

⁸⁹ The sample ends with the following words: “To the great *ter* [tēr], highly

⁸⁴ Cahen, *La Turquie*, p. 72.

⁸⁵ Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 343.

⁸⁶ Hellenkemper H., Hild F., *Kilikien und Isaurien*, S. 365.

the title "*takfūr*" was used as an official form of address, at least to the Armenian kings.

Interestingly, since the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Anatolian and Middle Eastern Muslim authors began to apply the title *takwar* / *takfūr* to the Byzantine emperors of Constantinople, of Trebizond, as well as to smaller Greek Christian rulers of Anatolia.⁹⁰

There is no doubt that Muslim Anatolians knew the Cilician kings by their names. However, there was an interesting transformation in historiographic narrative. Regarding the events of the beginning of the thirteenth century, Muslim authors called the Cilician king *Līfūn*, i.e. King Levon I, spelling his name as ليفون (*līfūn*⁹¹) or ليفيُون (*līfīyūn*⁹²). However, in historiography his name had turned into a common name: not only the kings who bore the name of Levon had been called "*Līfūn*", but also the regent Kostandin Payl and Hetum. This type of transformation of the king's personal name into a common one, applied to his successors, is well known in the history of the Eastern Mediterranean. For ins-

revered lord of the Christians, model for bishops, the leader of the community of Jesus, Ter David." This form of address raises certain questions: it is absolutely clear that two types of *inscriptio* are conflated here. There is no doubt that in the beginning of the quote the Armenian king is implied, but the second part is apparently to address the Armenian catholicos or even less important hierarchs of the Armenian Church (**Muxammad ibn Xindušax Naxčivani**, *Rukovodstvo dlja pisca pri opredelenii stepenej* (Secretary's Rule for Determining Official Designations/Ranks), ed. by A.A. Ali-Zade, Moscow, 1976, pp. 391-392 (in Russian and Persian)).

⁹⁰ See, for instance: Die altosmanische Chronik des Aşikpaşazade, Herausgegeben von Friedrich Giese, Leipzig, 1929, p. 8: Belecek tākvarı.

⁹¹ **Rawandī**, pp. 463-464; **Ibn Bibi** (AS), pp. 39-40; **Ibn Bibi** (Lugal-Erzi), p. 55-56, 165-166; **Ibn Bibi** (Iloutsma), p. 9; **Ibn Bibi** (Duda), S. 23; Ta'riḥ, p. 113.

⁹² Ta'riḥ, p. 89.

tance, in the thirteenth century "*Gidon*" (← Γίδων), the patronymic of the emperor Andronikos I Gidos (1222-1235) became the common name for Trebizond emperors; Rubrouck and Āqsarāyī designated by this name the emperor Manuel I Grand Komnenos (1238-1263).⁹³ Similarly, the name of Laskaris (الشكري and لشكري) has turned in Muslim historiography into the common name for the house of the Nicaean emperors and the early Palaiologoi.⁹⁴

Interestingly, aside from the title *takwar*, in the time of the Mongol conquest of Anatolia and Western Asia, Muslim historians applied the term *bāyl* / *pāyl* of Sīs (بایل سیس) to the Cilician kings.⁹⁵ This usage is attested in respect of the events of 1243 and 1245 (see Section 3). If in the first case one can assume that Kostandin Payl was meant, in the second case, Hetum I was most likely implied. Obviously, **Ibn Bībī**'s naming *bāyl* / *pāyl* was derived from Armenian *payl* (պայլ), specifically the sobriquet of Kostandin, father of Hetum I, who became the *payl*, i.e. regent, of the Cilician kingdom in 1219. Perhaps *payl*, the sobriquet of Kostandin, was transferred to his son Hetum I. At the same time, it is interesting that **Ibn Bībī** considered the titles *payl* and *takwar* as synonymous: in his narration about the events of 1245 both of these terms were used interchangeably.

2. Population

The most widespread term for the population of Cilician Armenia was the ethnonym *arman* (ارمن).⁹⁶ The army was called "Armenian:" *lashkar-i armanī* (لشکر ارمنی)⁹⁷; specifically with refe-

⁹³ **Janssens E.** Trébizonde en Colchide, Bruxelles, 1969, p. 71; **Aksarayi**, p. 83 (غيدان).

⁹⁴ See, for instance: **Šukurov R.M.**, *Velikie Komniny*, pp. 135-138 (in Russian).

⁹⁵ **Ibn Bībī** (AS), pp. 522, 547.

⁹⁶ See, for instance: **Ibn Bībī** (AS), p. 91; **Ibn Bībī** (Lugal-Erzi), p. 133.

⁹⁷ See, for instance: **Ibn Bībī** (AS), p. 166; **Ibn Bībī** (Lugal-Erzi), p. 232.

rence to Armenian cavalry and archers.⁹⁸ Muslim authors noted also the presence of Latins in Cilician Armenia, denoting them as “Franks”: *farang* and pl. *farangān* (فرنگ and فرنگان).⁹⁹

Non-Muslim confession of the population was referred to quite often and expressed by the term “infidel”: *kāfir* and pl. *kuffār* (کافر / کفار),¹⁰⁰ which was standard in historiography. It should be noted that the definition “infidel” for Christians in Muslim historiographic discourse was not only ordinary but even terminological. In most cases, Anatolian Muslim historiography is emotionally neutral. However, at times the Christian affiliation of the population was emotionally emphasized by derogatory epithets applied usually to Christians as, for example, in Rawandī who called the Armenian king “damned” (*la’īn*, لعين) and “dog” (*sag*, سگ).¹⁰¹ Such epithets could be applied both to the Byzantine Greeks and Georgians.

Negative emotional assessments of Armenians reached their apogee in the work of al-Anawī (see above Section 2.2) who developed an extremely uncompromising anti-Christian and anti-Armenian polemic not usually typical for Muslim Anatolian literature. Although al-Anawī spoke generally about Armenian Christianity, it is obvious that he meant the Cilician Armenians in particular (and perhaps predominantly). It is possible that in his criticism of Armenian Christianity he used themes and arguments drawn from the anti-Armenian polemic tradition of Byzantium and Georgia. Accord-

ding to al-Anawī the Armenians perceived the teachings of Jesus in distorted form from a certain catechist named Tiyatus (طياطوس, *tiyātūs*).¹⁰²

3. Aristocracy

The Seljuq historians knew that the representatives of the noble families in Armenian Cilicia were called *paron*: بارون or, perhaps, پارون (*bārūn* or *pārūn*) ← Arm. *paron* (պարոն).¹⁰³ The pages of Muslim Anatolian historiography preserved several names of the representatives of Cilician nobility.

Kīr Wārd (Arm. *Kir Vard*), the owner of the *Kalonoros*, and his brother monk who owned the castle of Alar were mentioned in connection with the events of 1221 (see Section 3.1221 / 1 and 2 above). Although the monk in our sources was not named, it is worth noting that along with Kīr Wārd the “Coronation List” of Smbat Sparapet mentioned a certain Michael (Arm. *Միխայլ* / *Mixayl*)¹⁰⁴ as the owner of the fortress Alara. That probably is the name of Kīr Wārd’s brother.

Several other Armenian aristocrats were mentioned in connection with the events of 1216 (see Section 3): *paron* Vasil (بارون فاسيل), *paron* Oshin (اوشين بارون), Noshin (نوشين) and the constable (کنندصطبل) without specifying his name). Most of these names cannot be exactly identified. Only the constable can be reliably identified. There is no doubt that he was Kostandin, father of Hetum I, the famous constable who would become the future regent of Cilicia.

A certain *paron* Vasil was mentioned also in the “Coronation List” of 1198 as a marshal (Arm. *մարախտ* / *marajaxt*) and the

⁹⁸ Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 170, 341; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 236.

⁹⁹ See, for instance: Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 337, 339, 343, 522. For the role of Francs in the social and military history of Cilician Armenia and with relevant bibliography, see: Chevalier M.-A., L’ordre de l’Hôpital en Arménie cilicienne du début du XII^e siècle à la fin du règne de Het’oum I^{er}: Aspects généraux de la question, L’Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins fin XI^e – milieu XV^e siècle, éd. Isabelle Augé and Gérard Dédéyan, Paris, 2009, pp. 79–106.

¹⁰⁰ Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 306; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), pp. 230–231.

¹⁰¹ Rawandī, p. 464.

¹⁰² See detailed analysis in: Peacock A.C.S., An Interfaith Polemic..., pp. 239–246.

¹⁰³ Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 166; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 232.

¹⁰⁴ Le Connétable Sempad, p. 638.

ruler of Vaner,¹⁰⁵ however, it is unclear whether he was still alive in 1216. Perhaps under Vasil was implied "Azil", the ruler of Oxen (Arm. Azel Ōk'sēnc') who, according to Smbat Sparapet, participated in the events of 1216 and was captured by the Seljuqs.¹⁰⁶ If so, the name of Azil was misunderstood and misinterpreted by a Persian chronicler. Another option is a certain *paron* Vasil who was mentioned by Smbat Sparapet as a nobleman helping Kostandin Payl to restore Tarsus in 1220.¹⁰⁷ Maybe this very Vasil was implied in connection with the events of 1216.

Paron Oshin (Arm. Ōšin) was mentioned as the prince of Sivil in 1198,¹⁰⁸ but it is unknown whether he was implied in the events of 1216. It is not to be excluded that the passage refers to another Oshin, the prince of Lambron (d. 1218). The name Noshin is not identifiable.

There are two more mysterious characters in Seljuq sources apparently belonging to the Cilician nobility. Ibn Bībī started the history of the Seljuq campaign of 1245 (Section 3) by pointing to the enemies of the Muslims in Cilicia: "*takwar* Kūrīht and his nominal brothers" (تکور کوریخت و اخوان خوانش).¹⁰⁹ This indication is not yet interpretable.

Interestingly, according to Ibn Bībī, two of the lords of the fortresses were clerics. In the first case the lord of Alar, brother of Kīr Wārd, was called a monk, and the definition of his being a cleric is descriptive:

¹⁰⁵ Le Connétable Sempad, p. 637.

¹⁰⁶ Le Connétable Sempad, p. 644.

¹⁰⁷ Smbat Sparapet, Letopis' (Smbat the Constable, Chronicle, tr. from Old Armenian and commentaries by A. Galstjan, Yerevan, 1976, p. 126 (in Russian)).

¹⁰⁸ Smbat Sparapet, Letopis', p. 116.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 544.

دامن از ل ات کشان در کشیده بود و سلک □اده تبیل گزیده و بر اطلس ابتیار کرده...

"[He] rejected worldly pleasures, chose the path of consecrating himself [to God] and replaced the weighty clothes with a haircloth."¹¹⁰

In the second case, the prince of the fortress *Čanči* was called *kashīsh* (کشیش), i.e. "monk".¹¹¹

6. Gifts of Cilician Armenia

Muslim Anatolian sources repeatedly mention the gifts and tribute paid by the Armenian kings to the Seljuq rulers. Part of the gifts assortment was quite ordinary, common to other Christian and Muslim royal courts, while the other part should perhaps be specific, inherent to the Cilician royal court only.

The gifts might consist of expensive animals: "Arabian and Frankish racers" (1211–1213),¹¹² "excellent horses with saddles studded with precious stones" (1216),¹¹³ "mules with gait as light as a partridge and looking like peacocks [for their beauty]" (1216),¹¹⁴ "swift hawks and falcons."¹¹⁵

Sources mention textiles and specifically broadcloth: "broad-

¹¹⁰ Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 249.

¹¹¹ Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 339–340; Ibn Bībī (Houtsma), p. 140.

¹¹² *asbān-i tāzī wa-farangī*: Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 119; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 170.

¹¹³ *asbān-i nāmdār bā zīn-i pūr nigīn*: Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 169; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 235.

¹¹⁴ *astarān-i rahwār-i kabkraftār-i tāwusdidār*: Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 169; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 235.

¹¹⁵ *bāz-u shāhīn-i tizparwāz*: Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 169; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 235.

cloth [red?] shoes" (1211–1213),¹¹⁶ "cloth goods" (1216).¹¹⁷

Gold and silver were supplied by Cilician Armenia in the form of tableware and coins: "gold and silver vessels" (1211–1213),¹¹⁸ "gold and silver tableware for feasts" (1216),¹¹⁹ "purses with innumerable nuggets."¹²⁰ The Armenian kings could also pay gold "dinars" as a tribute to the Seljuqs.¹²¹

"Frankish" goods that were available in Cilician Armenia are mentioned in connection with the stay of the sultan Ġiyāt al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I at the court of Levon I (Section 3.1196) when the Cilician king endowed the Sultan with "the highly demanded goods of Farangistan".¹²²

Finally there was a case of delivering "beautiful slave girls of the Frankish tribe" (1216) by the Cilician court.¹²³

¹¹⁶ *filārḥā-yi saqirlāt*: Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 119; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 170. Both terms are somewhat difficult to explain. *Fīlār* (فيلار) is perhaps identical to Osm. *filār* (فلار), which is translated by Redhouse as "a kind of light, high-heeled shoe." At the same time, the Persian poet of the fifteenth century Nizām al-Dīn Qārī, author of the well known *Dīwān-i albasa* ("Verses about Clothing"), mentions *chikma-yi saqirlāt* implying high-heeled shoes with the *saqirlāt*, i.e. cloth upper part (see: Nizām al-Dīn Maḥmūd Qārī Yazdī, *Dīwān-i albasa*, Istanbul, 1303). *Saqirlāt* is akin to the French *écarlate*, which in the Middle Ages meant red broadcloth dyed with cochineal. Perhaps Ibn Bībī implied just red textile shoes.

¹¹⁷ *aḥmāl-i saqirlāt*: Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 169; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 235.

¹¹⁸ *awānī-yi zar-u nuqra*: Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 119; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 170.

¹¹⁹ *ālat-i maḡlis az zarrīn-u simīn*: Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 169; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 235.

¹²⁰ *badrahā-yi parpara bīsh az shumār*: Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 169; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 235.

¹²¹ Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 170; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 236.

¹²² Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 40; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 56.

¹²³ *kanīzakān-i ḥūbrūy-i farangnāzhād*: Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 169; Ibn Bībī (Lugal-Erzi), p. 235.

2. THE RUBENIDS IN ARABIC HISTORIOGRAPHY

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Incessant military campaigns, mass migrations and emigrations in the last quarter of the 11th century brought fundamental change to the demographic situation in the eastern Mediterranean region. The major factors leading to such change were the Seljuq invasion followed by the appearance of the Crusaders in the Near East. Of no less importance was the mass migration of Armenians fleeing, after the loss of statehood, to the west and southwest of Greater Armenia to escape plunder. Within a decade or two, the Armenian ethnic element became widespread or even prevalent in some regions of Asia Minor, Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, resulting in the emergence of a network of Armenian principalities. A large number of Armenians settled especially in the territories of the upper Euphrates (Euphratensis) and Cilicia, both of which acquired an Armenian outlook.

Armenians found themselves in a new country, in a new environment with new neighbors. Inevitably, new names, territories and peoples had to be accounted for in Armenian historiography. Even peoples with whom Armenians had been in contact for centuries had to be evaluated anew in the light of the evolving new relationships. Likewise the Greeks, Syrians, Arabs, Latins and others had to work out a new attitude towards the new Armenian world: beginning with the name to be given to the new country and culminating with its people and rulers.

To address the last issue we have checked the historical treatises of mainly contemporaneous Arab authors. Regardless of some differences in the naming of the leaders or the ruling dynasties of Cilician Armenia by Armenian, Byzantine, Syrian, and Latin authors, there is a degree of commonality. The situation with the

Arab historians or Arabic historiography is quite different. The first striking distinction is that the word "Cilicia" as a country name is rarely used in Arabic historiography,¹ while it is widespread in all other sources following the Greek or Latin tradition; however, other terms are found in common, such as "Armenia" and the "Land of Armenians". The second obvious difference is that, when telling about Cilicia, the Arab historians mention neither of the two ruling dynasties (Rubenids or Hetumids)², using instead the expression "Ibn Levon". This is met in the works of such authors of the 12th–14th centuries as Ibn al-Qalānisi, Ibn Šaddād, Ibn al-'Ibri (Bar Hebraeus), Ibn al-A'fīr, Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm, Abū Šāma, Abū-l-Fidā', al-Dahabī, Ibn al-Dawādārī, et al.

Before clarifying the origin and meaning of "Ibn Levon", let us first consider how the Christian historians, beginning with Armenians, name the new Armenian country and its rulers.

Rulers of Cilician Armenia in Armenian historiography

The title of Cilician kings as preserved in medieval Armenian historiography did not differ essentially from that of Greater Armenia's rulers.

Unlike the scholarly works of the 19th–21st centuries where the word "Cilicia" is permanently used, certainly for accuracy and avoidance of any confusion with Greater Armenia (Cilician Armenia, Sisvan, Cilician Armenian state, Cilician Armenian kingdom and, accordingly, the king of Cilicia, grand prince of Cilicia, etc.), the medieval sources, whether Armenian or foreign, almost unexceptionally omit the word Cilicia while mentioning its kings.

Let us see the way the Armenian kings and princes named

themselves: what their self-name was or how they signed their records and orders. Thus, Levon I the Great's signature was: "Levon, by the grace of God king of Armenians" or in Latin: "Leo Dei gratia rex Armenorum". Hetum I signed: "Hetum, by the grace of God king of Armenians". The signatures of Levon II and Levon III are slightly different: "Levon, the faithful in Christ-God king of all Armenians", and finally the signature of Levon IV under a chart read: "Levon, the faithful in Christ-God by His grace and mercy king of all Armenians" or as rendered in Old French "Leon, feal in Iesus-Christ, par la Grace et la misericorde de Dieu, roy de tous Armenis".³

It is obvious that despite slight differences the monarchs called themselves "king of Armenians" or "King of all Armenians" (t'agavor amenayn hayoc'). None of the records mention the historical-geographical name of the country they ruled whether fully or partially (Cilicia, Isauria, Euphratensis). This may be explained by the fact that the Rubenids claimed to be the direct descendants and heirs of the royal dynasties of Greater Armenia (Bagratid and Artzruni). They seem to have endeavored to take possession of the whole of Armenia, if not politically, then at least as national-spiritual leaders of all Armenians. However, going into further details of this question is beyond the scope of this article.

In the Venice edition of Smbat Sparapet's *Chronicle* the historian called prince Costandin (1095–1100) "the grand prince of Armenians,"⁴ while his successor Toros (1100–1129) was named "prince of Armenians Toros, son of Costandin"⁵, and his brother

¹ See Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-zāhir*, Riyād, 1976, p. 439.

² An exception is found in Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm's *History of Aleppo* where in connection with the events of 1137 prince Levon was named "Lāwūn ibn Rūbāl" (Levon ibn Ruben), which may be also translated as "Levon Rubenid", (*Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm*, Tārīḥ Ḥalab, vol. II, Damascus 1954, p. 262).

³ Bornazian S., *Soc'ial-tntesakan haraberut'yunnera Kilikyan Hayastanum XII-XIV darerum* (Social-Economic Relations in the Cilician Armenian State in XII-XIV cc.) Yerevan, 1973, p. 53.

⁴ Smbat Sparapet, *Taregirk' (Chronicle)*, Venice, 1956, p. 112.

⁵ Ibid., p. 134.

and successor Levon (1129–1137) –“Levon, son of Costandin”⁶ “...in the country of the Cilicians,”⁷ Regarding prince Toros II (1145–1169) Smbat Sparapet wrote: “Grand prince Toros, son of Levon, passed away....”⁸ And finally the coronation of Levon the Great is described as: “...they consecrated Levon king of Armenians”⁹ naming their dynasty the “...House of Rubenians.”¹⁰ Another chronicler of the 13th century, Bishop Stepannos wrote: “...the last Armenian kingdom, which was in Cilicia.”¹¹ The information on the next page is of interest: “...and by the decree of the Highest he was consecrated king of Armenians in the west, Cilicia.”¹² According to the *Chronicle* of Hetum II “...paron Levon was crowned with a diadem and became the first king in Cilicia.”¹³ Another undated *Chronicle* mentions that “Levon Bagratuneats was crowned in Cilicia in 1197.”¹⁴

Latin and Old French sources

Of the Latin sources, the most important is certainly William of Tyre or Guillaume of Tyre, whose large work, where, following the Byzantine tradition, the country is constantly called Cilicia. He provides rather rich data on its rulers. There is no information concerning the first two representatives of the Rubenids. The narrative begins with Toros I described as “a noble and dignified

⁶ Ibid., p. 159.

⁷ Ibid., p. 162.

⁸ Ibid., p. 189.

⁹ Ibid., p. 208.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 211.

¹¹ *Manr Zumanakagrut'yunner* XIII–XVIII darer, vol. I, kazmec' V. Hakobyan (Brief Chronicles XIII–XVIII centuries, vol. I, compiled by V. Hakobyan), Yerevan, 1951, p. 35.

¹² Ibid., p. 36.

¹³ Ibid., p. 77.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 385.

Armenian prince Tauros (Toros) who with his brother Constandin (error: this should be Levon) possessed impregnable fortresses on the slopes of the Taurus range and a great number of brave soldiers. Owing to their wealth and power these feudal lords were considered the kings of their people.”¹⁵

Regarding king Levon I the Latin historian wrote: “Joslin Junior’s mother was the sister of Levon the Armenian, a man very influential among his people.”¹⁶ Toros II is mentioned in several contexts as: “A powerful Armenian nobleman named Toros resided near Tarsus in the land of Cilicia”¹⁷; “Messengers were sent to Toros, a very powerful Armenian prince.”¹⁸ Similarly the Latin historian described Mleh: “Milo, a very powerful Armenian prince....”¹⁹ The description of Ruben III did not much differ: “Rubinus, the noble leader of Armenians....”²⁰

Of no lesser value is the “Chronicle”²¹ by Ernoul and Bernard the Treasurer written in Old French that contains unique information about the relations between Cilician Armenia and the Jerusalem kingdom. Contrary to William of Tyre, the latter did not apply the toponym Cilicia, using instead the word “Armenia” in three different forms (Hermenia, Iermenie, Ermenia). Despite numerous mentions of Toros II, Ruben III and Levon the Great in the narrative, following the Latin tradition their family or descent

¹⁵ **William Archbishop of Tyre**, A history of deeds done beyond the sea, tr. and annot. by Emily Atwater Babcock and August C. Krey, 2 vols., Columbia University Press, New York, 1943, v. I, p. 416 (hereinafter William of Tyre).

¹⁶ **William of Tyre**, v. II, p. 52.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 253.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 266.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 384.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 457.

²¹ *Chronique d’Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, éd. par M. L. de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1871.

was never mentioned. Thus mentioned for once is "Toros of the Mount who is the sovereign of Armenia" (*Thoros de la Montaigne, qui sires estoit d'Ermenie*)²². The same "Le sire d'Ermenie"²³, "al segnor d'Ermenie"²⁴ with the same meaning of the "Sovereign of Armenia" is repeated elsewhere. Characteristic of Old French the Armenian word 'Ter' (lord) was denoted in three different forms (sire, segnor, signor). Finally, after the proclamation of the Armenian kingdom the historian used the expression "*rois d'Ermenie*"²⁵ or the "king of Armenia".

Syrian historians

The Syrian historians' special significance for our research is dictated by their excellent knowledge of the works of Armenian and Byzantine authors on the one hand, and close ties with the Arab environment on the other. Some of them (e.g. Bar Hebraeus / Ibn al-'Ibrī) were even bilingual, so they were able to interpret some specific terms and concepts.

It is generally known that since the 8th–9th centuries the Syrians and Syrian culture had taken the role of mediators between Arabic and other cultures. It is enough to recall only the voluminous translation of Greek literature into Arabic ordered by Caliph Ma'mūn in the 9th century, which was almost completely done by Syrians; or numerous Arabic toponyms, names and terms borrowed from Syriac. That is, having no political independence under the rule of the Arab Caliphate, the Syrians as a related Semitic people had been gradually Arabicized, simultaneously enriching Arabic literature, historiography included, by numerous loan-words, terms and concepts. A number of toponyms, including

²² Ibid., p. 27.

²³ Ibid., p. 319.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 320.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 323, 411, etc.

Tadmur (Palmyra), al-Ruhā (Orhay), etc., are derived from Syriac. The form Dabīl used by Arab historians for the Armenian city of Dvin has been also borrowed from Syriac, which proves that even the names of the countries and cities located out of Syria, as well as concepts, passed to Arabic through Syriac.

For the purposes of our study, of most interest is the information provided by the twelfth-century historian known as the Anonymous of Edessa, according to whom: "Ruling at the time in Cilicia was an Armenian, the son of Ruben named Levon, who was the uncle of Joslin the Junior, prince of Urha."²⁶ Continuing his narrative (about the campaign of the Byzantine emperor John Komnenos and the capturing of prince Levon) the historian named him just "Levon" or, in one instance, "Levon the Armenian". As we know, Levon was the grandson and not son of Ruben (son of Costandin); but it does not necessarily mean that the Syrian historian was mistaken. As in Semitic usage, "son" also means "descendent" and not just an immediate progeny or successor. Thus Levon's belonging to the house of Ruben is implied²⁷. This suggestion is confirmed by the following examples: "Ruling at Anavarza and Cilicia were Armenians – sons of Ruben"²⁸; "Armenians of Ruben's offspring that ruled in Cilician provinces and fortresses of the country...."²⁹ Telling about the events of 1205 and Levon the Great, the Anonymous of Edessa wrote: "... the prince of Cilicia Levon the Armenian appealed to Khosrovshah...."³⁰ Other rulers of Cilicia are na-

²⁶ *Ananun Edesac'i, Žamanakagrut'yun* (Otar albiwmerā Hayastani ew hayeri masin, 12), t'argmanec' L. Ter-Petrosyan (Anonymous of Edessa, Chronicle, in: *Foreign Sources about Armenia and Armenians*, translated by L. Ter-Petrosian), Yerevan, 1982, v. 12, p. 79 (hereinafter Anonymous of Edessa).

²⁷ "Lāwun ibn Rūbāl" (Ibn al-Adīm, *Tārīḥ Ḥalab*, v. II, 262).

²⁸ Anonymous of Edessa, p. 40.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 74.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 194.

med "Toros the Armenian", "Levon the Armenian", etc., or "Armenian Toros", "Armenian Levon". This way of naming the Cilician rulers is also characteristic of Arab historiography.

Like Armenian and Greek historians, Syrian historians - the Anonymous of Edessa included, continued naming the country "Cilicia": "... wherefrom they entered the country of Cilicia,"³¹ "the prince of Cilicia named Mleh."³² So did Michael the Syrian, another historian of the 12th century providing rich information on Cilicia. He generally named the country "Cilicia", and its rulers "Sons of Ruben", "Ruben's offspring" or "Rubenid", as in the following: "There were also Armenians holding a number of lands in Cilicia who were named the sons of Ruben (Bene Ruben)."³³ The historian mentioned the Armenian princes by name without adding any titles: Ruben, Costandin, Toros, Levon, adding at best the attribute "Armenian"; e.g.: "There were two brothers in the mountains of Cilicia - the sons of Costandin, son of Ruben,"³⁴ "the latter fled to Toros the Armenian, to Cilicia,"³⁵ "that year Toros the Armenian, the ruler of Cilicia died. He was succeeded by his brother Levon."³⁶ In another section Levon is already named "Levon the Armenian."³⁷ Similarly mentioned is Toros II: "One of the sons of Levon, Toros escaped (from captivity) and left from there,"³⁸

³¹ Ibid., p. 37.

³² Ibid., p. 135.

³³ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, éd. et tr. Par J.-B. Chabot, t. III, Bruxelles 1963, p. 187 (hereinafter Michel le Syrien). English readers may now consult the rich index of The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (The Great): A Universal History from the Creation, tr. by Matti Moosa, Teaneck, NJ, 2014.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 198.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 223.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 227.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 230.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 281.

"...Toros, the dignified ruler of Cilicia,"³⁹ or "...Armenian Toros, prince of Cilicia."⁴⁰ The next three Rubenids - Mleh, Ruben III and Levon II were also mentioned as princes of Cilicia⁴¹.

Cilicia is named "Armenia" but once by Bar Hebraeus, the historian of a later period (13th cent.), while stating that these lands belonged to the sons of Ruben⁴². All other mentions in the narrative have Cilicia. Thus the historian indicated that this or that prince died and was buried in Tarsus⁴³; or "ruling at the time in Cilicia were two sons of Costandin, son of Ruben"⁴⁴; or "Armenian Toros, ruler of Cilicia"⁴⁵; or while telling about the prince of Cilicia: "Armenian Levon."⁴⁶

The study of information provided by Bar Hebraeus shows that, despite the short rule of prince Levon, his individuality and deeds are covered in more detail and mentioned much more frequently because of their significance. This speaks in favor of the suggestion that Cilicia and its ruler have turned into an important factor in the region just during his rule, thus accounting for the occurrence and circulation of the formula: "Levonid" or "the son of Levon" as brought by Arab authors to name the dynasty.

Describing the Cilician rulers as "Armenian Levon, ruler of Cilicia"⁴⁷ or "Armenian Toros, ruler of Cilicia"⁴⁸ Bar Hebraeus

³⁹ Ibid., p. 304.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 310.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 337, 376, 387.

⁴² The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus Gregory Abu-l-Faraj, tr. by E. Budge, Amsterdam, 1976, p. 237 (hereinafter Bar Hebraeus).

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 238, 244.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 246.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 252.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 255.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 275.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 280.

simultaneously specifies the origin of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's dynasty—saying that they were of Kurdish descent coming from the renowned Armenian city of Dvin⁴⁹. Thus Bar Hebraeus (as well as Michael the Syrian⁵⁰) clearly distinguished Greater Armenia from Cilicia, calling the Cilician rulers by name (Ruben, Costandin), while Toros I, Levon I, Toros II and Mleh⁵¹ are almost always mentioned with the addition of “Armenian” and “ruler of Cilicia”. Finally speaking about the assassination of Mleh and Ruben III's accession to power Bar Hebraeus writes: “made him a king over them”⁵² then names the same Ruben III “the ruler of Cilicia.”⁵³ Similar expression is applied to grand prince Levon II.⁵⁴ Finally writing about the events of 1219 (at that, using the Armenian dating) he notes: “King of Cilicia Levon has died”⁵⁵ and “Philip was made the king of Cilicia,”⁵⁶ or “and Hetum was proclaimed the king of Cilicia.”⁵⁷

Thus, while bringing into circulation the formula “the sons of Ruben” in the meaning of “Ruben's dynasty / descendants”, the Syrian historians distinguished between Cilicia and Greater Armenia. They were well aware that Ruben was the founder of the ruling dynasty and kingdom. Finally, the reign of Levon I (1129–1137) was given much more importance than all three preceding princes in their narrative. As we shall shortly see, this approach was also typical of the Arabic historiography.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 288.

⁵⁰ Michel le Syrien, t. III, p. 325.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 295.

⁵² Ibid., p. 305.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 310.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 328.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 375.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 380.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 390.

As we know Bar Hebraeus (Ibn al-ʿIbrī) had also authored a concise version of the same history in Arabic called “A Concise History of Dynasties.”⁵⁸ Comparison of the author's two works in two different languages reveals interesting details. When writing about the 11th–13th centuries the historian, who had been repeatedly mentioning “Cilicia” in Syriac, did not mention that toponym at all in the Arabic version; instead he brought into circulation the appellations “Bilād Ibn Levon” (the country of Ibn Levon) and “Bilād al-Arman” (the country of Armenians). Another notable distinction is that the designation “the sons of Ruben” used by the author on several occasions in Syriac is surprisingly never mentioned in Arabic. It is substituted by “Ibn Levon”, taken up in Arabic historiography⁵⁹, whereas in references to Hetum I he simply writes: “Armenian king Hetum.”⁶⁰

Examination of the bilingual works of Bar Hebraeus leads to the conclusion that the word “Cilicia” corresponds to the expressions “the country of Ibn Levon” or “the country of Armenians”, or sometimes to simply “the Gorges” (“Durūb” in Arabic).

The Rubenid dynasty in Arabic historiography

Analysis of the Syrian historical treatises leads to elaboration on a number of approaches and concepts in Arabic historiography that relate to Cilician Armenia. We shall probe the references to Cilician Armenia in a host of Arabic sources: Ibn al-Qalānisi's (1070–1160) “Continuation of the History of Damascus”, Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Šaddād's (1145–1234) “Biography of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī”, Ibn al-Aṭīr's (1160–1233) “Complete History” and “The

⁵⁸ Ibn al-ʿIbrī, *Tārīḥ Muḥtaṣar al-Duwal*, Beirut, 1890 (hereinafter Ibn al-ʿIbrī).

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 459–460, 498–500.

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 459–460, 498–500.

History of the Atabegs of Mosul", Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī's (1178–1229) "Dictionary of Countries"⁶¹, Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm's (1192–1262) "History of Aleppo", Abu Šāma's "Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn", Ibn al-Dawādārī's "Kanz al-durar wa-ḡami al-ḡurar", "Muḥtār al-aḥbār" attributed to Baybars al-Manṣūrī (c. 1325), the "Chronicle" by Abū-l-Fidā' (1273–1333), Al-Dahabī's (1274–1348) "The Book of Muslim Dynasties" and Ibn Battūṭa's (1304–1369) "Riḥla".

Chronologically the earliest of the above authors is Ibn al-Qalānīsī (12th c.). Other authors who wrote their "Histories" in the 13th–14th centuries could have used his work "Continuation of the History of Damascus".

Telling about the events of the year 531 after Hiḡra (622 AD) Ibn al-Qalānīsī mentioned Byzantine emperor John Komnenos's famous campaign to Cilicia and Antioch. He described the capture of Adana, Sis and Anarzaba adding: "... then [the emperor] turned away and returning to Gorges (i.e. Cilicia) captured all fortresses and surrounding settlements that had yet remained in the hands of Ibn Levon the Armenian."⁶² It is unclear what made the Arab author name prince Levon I "Ibn Levon", i.e. "the son of Levon". The dynastic name of the Cilician rulers in Arabic seems to be blurred at this time in history. We can only state that "Ibn Levon" was already in use in the 12th century (Ibn al-Qalānīsī died in 1160). It is also noteworthy that Cilicia was named "Durūb" (Gorges).

Although Ibn al-Qalanisi, Ibn al-Athūr, Ibn Shaddad and other Arab authors focused mainly on the history of Muslim countries

⁶¹ Hakob Nalbandian translated the title as "Aṣṣarhagrakan baḡrirk" (Geographical dictionary).

⁶² Ibn al-Qalānīsī, Dayl tārīḡ Dimašq, ed. by H.F. Amedroz, Beyrouth, 1908, p. 258.

and turned to the Christians only to the extent of their relation to the Islamic world, they were well aware of Cilician Armenia's history. They were the contemporaries of the Rubenid state, often resided nearby (in Aleppo, Mosul, etc.) and were known as authentic sources. Consequently they could not have been so unaware of the Cilician rulers as to name all of them (Costandin, Toros I, Levon I, Toros II, Ruben II and Levon II) "the son of Levon".

Samples of exact knowledge of the Cilician rulers by name are numerous in Arabic historiography. For example, speaking about the campaign of the Egyptian sultan Baybars and the imprisonment of Levon, son of Hetum, the author of "Muḥtār al-aḥbār" wrote: "at that time the king was Haytum, the son of Kostandin, son of Basāk... whose son was Levon."⁶³ That Kostandin could have been known by name is not surprising, since he was the *baylus* (regent). The mention of his father's name – Vasak (Basāk) is much more surprising. It is unexpected to see such knowledge of the Armenian dynasts' family tree in foreign historiography.

Rubenian Levon I or Levon II?

The above-mentioned suggests that the expressions "Levon", "Ibn Levon", and the country of "Ibn Levon" implied a dynasty ruling in Cilicia rather than any specific person named Levon or his son. We shall see below that the same expressions had been used retrospectively for the initial period of the Cilician Rubenid (pre-Levon) reign.

Still we have to clarify which of the Levons became the founder of the dynasty in the eyes of Arab historians. Levon I the Great had no sons, consequently it could not be him. Regarding the

⁶³ Baybars al-Manṣūrī, Muḥtar al-aḥbar, Cairo, 1993, p. 32.

sons of another Levon - Toros II or Mleh (whose close relations with Nur al-Din and other Muslim rulers are well known), Mleh, as well as Levon the Great, should be immediately ruled out: considering that Ibn al-Qalānīsī, who was one of the first to use the expression Ibn Levon, died in 1160 and could not have known about king Levon I the Great as well as grand prince Mleh. Actually Toros II could be named "Ibn Levon" but the further narrative indicates that this naming is applied as a dynastic name, irrespective of any certain person; or to say it otherwise, emphasized here is the father – Levon and not the son (Toros or any other).

The same expression "Bilād Ibn Levon" is met in the "Biography of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī" by Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Ṣaddād, who had been a high-ranking official at the court of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, lived in Aleppo, and died in 1234; i.e. he was the contemporary and eye-witness of the events described by him. Hakob Nalbandian, the editor of excerpts from the "Biography of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī" translated that expression into Armenian as "the country of the son of Levon". This naming is shown in the following quotations: "To help Qilij Arslān the sultan campaigned through the country of the son of Levon..., crossed it and went to Nahr al-Aswad, which was the borderline of the country of the son of Levon"⁶⁴; or "the Sultan was waiting for the armies of Aleppo, delayed because of being busy with the Franks in Armenian lands, in the country of the son of Levon."⁶⁵ Finally, rendering the content of the two epistles of Catholicos Grigor Tla addressed to Salah al-Din, Ibn Ṣaddād used

⁶⁴ Arabakan albiwrnerə Hayastani ew harevan erkneri masin. **Yaqut al-Hamawi, Abu-l-Fida, Ibn Shaddad**, t'argmanutyunə H. Nalbandyan (Arabic Sources on Armenia and Neighboring Countries, Yaqut al-Hamawi, Abu-l-Fida, Ibn Shaddad, tr. by H. Nalbandyan), Yerevan, 1965, p. 293 (hereinafter H. Nalbandyan, Arabakan albiwrnerə).

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 294.

the same "Ibn Levon"⁶⁶ referring to Levon II, then the grand prince of Cilicia.

It is important to note that after telling about the first letter Ibn Ṣaddād wrote: "This is the letter of the Catholicos and this word means 'Caliph': his name is Bar Krīkūr ibn Bāsīl"⁶⁷. Grigor Tla was the son of Vasil. To avoid using the word "Tla" twice he applied the Syriac "Bar" (son), understanding that the name of Grigor's father was Vasil and "Tla" was a nickname. The exact knowledge of the names of Cilician elite is an additional confirmation of the suggestion that "Ibn Levon" was used not because of deficient knowledge of Armenian names or to avoid confusion of one individual with another, but because it was considered a dynastic name.

Rich information on Cilicia is provided by there nowned historian Ibn al-Aṭīr in his "Complete History" and "The History of the Atabegs of Mosul". Telling about the first Crusade and the capture of Antioch, Ibn al-Aṭīr used the expression "the country of Ibn Levon the Armenian" (Bilād Ibn Layūn al-Armanī)⁶⁸. Moreover, this is how Ibn al-Aṭīr described the famous campaign of John Komnenos: "In 531 (Sept. 29, 1136 – Sept. 18, 1137) ... from there [the emperor] moved to the towns of Adana and Maṣṣīṣa (Mopsuestia) that were held by the lord of the Gorges and castles Ibn Layūn al-Armanī... wherefrom he moved to Baḡrās and passing through it he entered the country of Ibn Layūn al-Armanī and

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 294–297.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 297.

⁶⁸ Ibn al-Asir (Otar albiwrnerə Hayastani ew hayeri masin, 11), t'argm., aṛajaban ew canot'agr. A. Ter-Levondyan (Foreign Sources on Armenia and Armenians 11), tr. from the original, foreword and comments by A. Ter-Levondyan, Yerevan, 1981, p. 229 (hereinafter Ibn al-Asir) (in Armenian), original in **Ibn al-Aṭīr, Al-Kāmil fī-l-tārīḥ**, Beirut, 2003, vol. VIII, p. 186 (hereinafter **Ibn al-Aṭīr, Al-Kāmil fī-l-tārīḥ**).

the latter gave much wealth and subjected to him"⁶⁹; likewise when referring to Ruben III: "In 576 (May 28, 1180 – May 16, 1181) Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn attacked the country of Ibn Layūn al-Armanī after accomplishing the deal with Qilij Arslān."⁷⁰

Finally let us examine several excerpts relating to the epoch of Levon the Great. **"Year 584 (Mar 2 1188 – Feb. 18, 1189)... About capturing Baġrās...** And that caused great damage to the Muslims since the Lord of Armenians (ṣāḥib al-Arman) Ibn Layūn who was bordering with (Baġrās) came from his country, repaired and improved its fortifications and stationed a group of soldiers there, which was raiding and looting the neighboring country..."⁷¹; or **"Year 602 (Aug. 18, 1205 – Aug. 7, 1206)... About the campaign of Ibn Layun into the province of Aleppo...** That year the Lord of the Gorges Ibn Layūn al-Armanī undertook several campaigns into the province of Aleppo, looted and set it on fire, captured and imprisoned"⁷²; and finally: **"Year 623 (Jan. 2, 1226 – Dec. 21, 1226)... About the feud between Franks and Armenians...** That year the Frank Brins (prince), lord of Antioch gathered a large army and moved against Armenians that had consolidated a position in the Gorges of Ibn Layun's country and there was a terrible battle between them."⁷³

Is "Ibn Levon" an individual or a dynasty?

The main question to be answered is whether that expression implies a certain individual (namely Levon's son Toros or Mleh) or has some other meaning. The Armenian translators of Arabic sources preserved the Arabic formula either without a comment or

simply translated the expressions "Ibn Levon", "the country of Ibn Levon" as "the son of Levon" or "the country of the son of Levon".

To be sure, there are some other forms for denoting a tribe, clan or royal dynasty in Arabic, and the first of them is the plural of "Ibn" – "Banī" (sons, cf. Syriac 'Bene'), which when put before a personal name gives it the meaning of the tribe or clan. For instance Banū Bakr means "the tribe of Bakr" or "Banū Tamīm" – "the tribe of Tamim", the same is applicable to the royal dynasty "Banū al-Abbās" – the Abbasids, "Banū Umayya" – Omayyads, "Banū Hamdān" – Hamdanids, etc. Apparently, had the Arab historians used the expression "Banū Levon" it would have left no ambiguity in translating it as "Levon's sons", the Levonids.

The expression "Bilād (the country of) Ibn Levon" frequently used by Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Šaddād in the "Biography of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī" is also applied in the narrative of the Third Crusade where prince Levon II was named "Ibn Levon". Ibn Shaddad was very well-informed about Cilician affairs. As we saw from the above excerpt the historian who had precisely told the full name of the Armenian Catholicos, could hardly be mistaken naming "Levon" the son of Levon. However, let us try to find additional confirmation of the hypothesis that Ibn Levon is a dynastic name.

There is another quotation from Ibn al-Aṣīr's "History of the Atabegs of Mosul" where the historian in telling about Nūr al-Dīn's policy towards prince Mleh wrote: "As an example of good sense let us recall his attitude towards the Armenian king (malik al-Arman) — Lord of the Gorges (ṣāḥib al-Durūb) Malīḥ ibn Layūn."⁷⁴ This information is relevant for several reasons: primarily because it is one of the rare cases where the Rubenid princes are mentioned by name. Mentioning Mleh is exceptional and may be due to special relations between Nūr al-Dīn and Mleh, who,

⁶⁹ Ibn al-Asir, p. 249, Ibn al-Aṣīr, Al-Kāmil fi-l-tārīḥ, vol. VIII, p. 358.

⁷⁰ Ibn al-Asir, p. 266, Ibn al-Aṣīr, Al-Kāmil fi-l-tārīḥ, vol. IX, p. 151.

⁷¹ Ibn al-Asir, p. 273, Ibn al-Aṣīr, Al-Kāmil fi-l-tārīḥ, vol. IX, p. 195.

⁷² Ibn al-Asir, p. 285, Ibn al-Aṣīr, Al-Kāmil fi-l-tārīḥ, vol. IX, p. 282.

⁷³ Ibn al-Asir, p. 331, Ibn al-Aṣīr, Al-Kāmil fi-l-tārīḥ, vol. IX, pp. 371–372.

⁷⁴ Ibn al-Asir, p. 331.

unlike his predecessors, was in a close alliance with the Muslims. That could certainly induce the Muslim chronicler to pay more attention to him. At the same time, since the name of Mleh's father was Levon, it might create an impression of a patronym that the Arab historian had precisely rendered: the name and father's name of the Armenian grand prince — Malīḥ ibn Layūn (Mleh, son of Levon). However, this impression is deceptive. It should be noted that earlier, speaking about Levon I, father of Mleh, the same Ibn al-Aḫḫār did not give his name "Levon", using instead "Ibn Levon", i.e. the above is an accidental coincidence. Consequently Levon in "Malīḥ ibn Layūn" is not a patronymic but a dynastic name that should be translated in this case as "Mleh Levonid."⁷⁵

The above is confirmed by another piece of information provided by noted historian and geographer Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī. The expression "Bilād Ibn Lāwun" (the country of Ibn Levon)⁷⁶ is used by him once and again: in the article titled "Al-Ṭaḡr", and is repeated in the article "Ayn Zarba" of the same "Dictionary of Countries" (Kitāb Mu'ḡam al-buldān). Describing Ṭarsūs, Yāqūt wrote: "That city is up to now in their (Armenians') hands. It is presently populated by Armenians and constitutes a part of Ibn Lāwun's countries"⁷⁷; and again in the article "Qal'at al-Rūm": "Circa 610 after Hiḡra (May 23, 1213 – May 12, 1214) Armenian king Layūn ibn Layūn who ruled over Maṣṣiṣa, Ṭarsūs and Adana on the borderline of Syria...."⁷⁸

Yaqut al-Hamawi's work is special for several reasons: although he was the contemporary of Levon the Great while speaking about "Levon the Armenian and his offspring" it is

obvious that he meant Levon I. Levon II was also mentioned but only as a historical figure. It is also worth noting that the name of Levon is given as "Armenian king Lawun ibn Lawun" or, otherwise "Levon Levonid". As we saw above both Ibn al-Aḫḫār and other historians never mentioned the names of the kings, repeating instead "Ibn Levon". Yaqut's information should be considered unique, also because of his notes on various occasions that numerous countries were subjected to the Levonids.

Rich information on Cilicia may be gathered in the narrative of the renowned thirteenth-century Arab historian Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Adīm titled "The History of Aleppo". He also widely used both the term "Bilād Ibn Lāwun" (the country of Ibn Levon) and the word combination "Malik al-arman Ibn Lāwun" (the king of Armenians Ibn Levon). While describing the joint forces and their leaders (Crusaders) participating in the siege of the Harim fortress in 1177 the author mentioned also "Ibn Lāwun" among others⁷⁹. Moreover, in the context of the events that happened in 1187, the historian used "Bilād Ibn Lāwun" (the country of Ibn Levon)⁸⁰. Again, while telling about the events of 1204 Kamāl al-Dīn noted briefly: "... the Armenian King Ibn Lāwun attacked ..." ⁸¹. Finally, the Armenian king of Cilicia is similarly referred to elsewhere in the text:⁸² in the second part of the narration, describing the events of 1137, Kamāl al-Dīn used the term "Bilād Lāwun."⁸³

Our hypothesis is also confirmed by the renowned thirteenth-century historian Abū Šāma (1203–1268). The fourth volume of his treatise contains important information on the events dated 586 AH (1190). In the chapter entitled "About the death of the king of

⁷⁵ Notably Ibn al-Aḫḫār named Mleh "King of Armenia".

⁷⁶ H. Nalbandyan, Arabakan albyurnerə, p. 45.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 94.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 100.

⁷⁹ Ibn al-Adīm, Tārīḡ Ḥalab, t. III, Damascus, 1968, p. 36.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 91.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 155.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 156–160, 168.

⁸³ Ibn al-Adīm, Tārīḡ Ḥalab, t. II, p. 263.

Allemands and how his son succeeded him" the author mainly repeats the letter by catholicos Grigor Tla addressed to Šalāh al-Dīn and cited by his biographer Ibn Šaddād. However, there is a big difference between the passages. In Abū Šāma's narration the Cilician king is mentioned without a patronymic, namely "Levon" (Lāfūn)⁸⁴. At first it would seem that this is a redaction of "Ibn Lāfūn" to "Lāfūn", however, the suspicion disappears completely with further analysis of the text's continuation where Abū Šāma writes "Lāfūn ibn Ištifāna ibn Lāwun."⁸⁵ In other words, he says "the son of Stephaneh Levon from the Levonian line". This is in fact the first instance in the sources that the name, patronym and dynasty of the Armenian king are mentioned at one place simultaneously. This passage of Abū Šāma's confirms that we are dealing with a generic name.

Why Levon I's name was perceived as that given to the dynasty?

So why did Levon I deserve such special attention by Arab historians, and why was he perceived as a forefather whose name was given to the whole dynasty in Arabic historiography? What was the difference between Levon I and his grandfather, father and brother? The reason can probably be found in the fact that Levon I was the first who managed to establish his brief control (1132–1137) over Lower Cilicia and its important cities such as Adana, Mopsuestia and Tarsus. It seems appropriate to briefly discuss here the strategic importance of Cilicia, which predetermined the general attitude of Arab historians towards that geographical region.

In the 7th–10th centuries the territory that roughly correspon-

ded to what is known today as Cilicia had been under Islamic domination. In the initial phase of Arab invasions, especially after the decisive Battle of Yarmouk dated 636 AD which determined the destiny of Syria for the next centuries, Cilicia was conquered by military commanders serving for the caliphs 'Umar and 'Utmān. Over the next few centuries Cilicia remained part of the Umayyad and then 'Abbasid Caliphates, but after the disintegration of the 'Abbasid Empire in the 10th century, it was included into the Hamdanid state. In the meantime Cilicia was captured by Tulunids, a dynasty of Turkic origin that enjoyed semi-independent rule in Egypt and Syria. Finally, in the second half of the 10th century the Byzantine Empire managed to re-establish its control in the region.

During the Abbasid period Lower Cilicia, or Cilicia Pedias, had been a part of the Arabic administrative unit called "Bilād al-Šām" (roughly corresponding to Syria or Greater Syria), meanwhile the Mountainous Cilicia, or Cilicia Trachea, was outside "Bilād al-Šām". Lower Cilicia was perceived by contemporaries as a maritime province attached to the city of Antioch, i.e. Syria. The main city of Cilicia Pedias was Tarsus, which had been the administrative centre of Cilicia from Roman times onwards. At the same time Tarsus had a religious significance for not only Christians (according to the Christian tradition St. Paul was born there), but also for Muslim Arabs as the powerful 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn (813–833) was buried in Tarsus.

At the same time militarily both North Syria and Upper Mesopotamia (al-Ğazīra) entered into the so-called al-'Awāšim Line of Defence, which represented a buffer zone for Arabs in their struggle against the Byzantines. al-'Awāšim's front line was called "al-Tuğūr" (a line of frontier fortifications), which was actually separated from al-'Awāšim. However, on special occasions both of these administrative units could have been united under the same military command. In the 10th century the capital of al-'Awāšim

⁸⁴ Abū Šāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī aḥbār al-dawlatayn al-Nūriyya wa-l-Šalāhiyya*, vol. IV, Beirut, 2002, pp. 77–78.

⁸⁵ Abū Šāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, vol. IV, p. 79.

was Antioch. After the Byzantine re-conquest al-'Awāšim turned into a geographic term⁸⁶.

As far as "al-Ṭuḡūr" (*pl.* from "al-ṭaḡr") is concerned, in the 10th century it already included the entire Cilicia with both its Lower and Mountainous parts. The Arabs mainly settled in Lower Cilicia not only because of a soft climate, but also due to the presence there of important trade cities that flourished in the region since ancient times. At the same time Mountainous Cilicia with its numerous fortresses and other fortifications turned into a military zone which played a significant role in the struggle against the neighboring Byzantine Empire. Finally, in terms of the ongoing rivalry between the Arabs and Byzantines, the number of military garrisons deployed throughout Mountainous Cilicia at some points even exceeded the civic population living in the region.

Thus, as we have seen, in the Arabic period Cilicia had been an integral part of the administrative district of "al-Šām" and — simultaneously — made up the bulk of the two military districts of "al-'Awāšim" and "al-Ṭuḡūr". Apart from "al-Ṭuḡūr" two other districts included Lower Cilicia only. Consequently, the capture of Lower Cilicia by Levon I caused a severe international reaction, culminating in the military campaign undertaken by the Byzantine emperor John Komnenos (1118–1143) into Cilicia and Syria to punish the Armenian ruler for his recent activities. While saying "international reaction" one should understand Syria and Upper Mesopotamia as well as the impact of the discussed events in the narrations composed in those areas. For instance, while analyzing the passages by Bar Hebraeus in regards to Levon I's activities, it is worth noting that in spite of the baron's rather short rule, the evidence of both his personality and activities come across in the

⁸⁶ Canard M., Al-'Awāšim, The Encyclopaedia of Islam, v. I, Leiden & New York, 1986, pp. 761–762.

narration with unmistakable frequency. This speaks in favor of the notion that the Rubenids began to play a decisive role in the region exactly under Levon I. From that point of view, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī's geographical work *Mu'ḡam al-buldān* contains important information:

All those areas located in the vicinity of the hostile country are called "Ṭuḡūr", and they form the border passes. Numerous places including Ṭuḡūr of al-Šām, representing a group of Ṭaḡrs, as well as many countries that are identified with the help of that name, are better known as "Bilād ibn Lāwun". ... Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ḡābir tells that Ṭuḡūr of al-Šām was seized by the caliphs 'Umar and 'Uṭmān, while Antioch and other places were called "al-'Awāšim". "The Muslims passed through these territories in order to invade the Greek lands.... Then the Greeks attacked Aleppo in 351 AH (962/3). They slaughtered as many people as they could. Sayf al-Dawla, being seriously weakened, left Antioch unprotected and returned to Mayyafariqin; meanwhile the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros, marching from Ṭaḡr to Ḥamā, came to Syria and besieged al-Maššīša (Mopsuestia), captured it, and then seized Tarsūs and other neighboring cities. All of this happened in the year 354 of the Hīḡra (965). The country remained in their hands⁸⁷ until Levon the Armenian became the owner of those places. His descendants are ruling there till now⁸⁸.

This passage of Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī contains some important evidence to help us draw our understanding. First, it is becoming evident that the portion of "al-Shām" belonging to the geographical term "al-Ṭuḡūr" coincided completely with the territory of Cilician Armenia; according to Arab authors it was called "Bilād ibn Lawūn". Second, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī considered Mopsuestia, Tarsus

⁸⁷ Here, in the hands of the Byzantines.

⁸⁸ H. Nalbandyan, Arabakan aḡbyurnerā, pp. 45–46.

and other neighboring cities as a part of Syria (al-Shām). And finally, the most important evidence here appears to be the passage saying that Cilicia was taken from Byzantines by Levon (here, Levon I (1129–1137), and that his descendants continued keeping control over the country till his days (i.e. till 1229 when Yaqut died). Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, being a contemporary of prince Levon II (or king Levon I the Great), finished his geographical dictionary just a few years after the death of the Armenian king, therefore the presence in his work of a passage proving the possession of the aforementioned areas by Levon I should be regarded as a reliable source. In addition, the citing in his work of Levon I as a founder of both the dynasty and the state is also worth noting in this regard.

Evidence gleaned from Byzantine authors as an auxiliary argument

One more piece of evidence characterizing the international regard for Levon I is found in the twelfth-century author Michael Italicus's "Panegyric" which was written in Greek in honor of the Byzantine emperor John Komnenos (1118–1143). A facsimile edition of the work appeared first in 1970⁸⁹, while an Armenian translation with comments by academician Hratch Bartikian was published in 1984⁹⁰. In Michael Italicus's work the main stress was put on the glorification of the victories that the Byzantine emperor John Komnenos had in both Cilicia and Syria in 1136–1138. It is a well-known fact that during those campaigns the Armenian prince Levon was taken captive, and as a result of this the Rubenid control

⁸⁹ F. Fusco, *Il Panegirico di Michele Italico per Giovanni Comneno*, *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, vol. 37, 1969–1970, pp. 146–169.

⁹⁰ Bart'ikyan Hrač', Mik'ayel Italikosi "Nerbohyana" ew Kilikyan Hayastani aṛajin t'agawori harc'ə (Michael Italicos's "Panegyric" and the issue of the first Armenian king of Cilicia), *Patma-Banasirakan Handes*, 4, 1984, pp. 216–229 (in Armenian).

in the region was interrupted for a while. According to the Byzantine author prince Levon proclaimed himself a king by means of putting a crown (a diadem) and red shoes on himself, an act which could have been equal to Cilicia's declaration as an independent state. Moreover, Michael Italicus called Levon a king and his country a kingdom. Exactly this "boldness" could have been the reason for John Komnenos's punitive campaign into Cilicia.

The scrupulous work of the publisher and translator shows that despite its adulatory nature, the Panegyric is based on historical facts and is an authentic source. Though the date of Levon's self-proclamation is not mentioned, it might be 1132, firstly because that year the Rubenids established their control over Lower Cilicia. It is true that the conquest had been initiated by prince Toros, brother of Levon, who significantly expanded his holdings, turning Armenian Cilicia into a regional state; but the latter still continued to recognize the Byzantine supremacy. Meanwhile his junior brother and successor Levon did break off relations with the Empire for good— capturing Adana, Mopsuestia and Tarsus from it. Probably soon after these events he proclaimed himself king of the land over which he ruled for barely five years.

Telling about the campaign of John Komnenos another Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates named Levon "the ruler of Armenians", writing: "...after that the king (emperor John Komnenos) declared his campaign into Cilicia, for the purpose of taking vengeance upon Levon who ruled over the Armenians because he not only captured a number of fortresses belonging to the Romans, but threatened to seize Seleucia too."⁹¹

Still another Byzantine historian, John Kinnamos named the country Cilicia but mentioned Toros II without any titles, noting

⁹¹ Nikity Xoniata Istorija (Niketas Choniates's History), vol. I, Saint Petersburg, 1860, Ryazan, 2003, p. 27 (in Russian).

only that fleeing from Byzantine captivity and arriving in Cilicia he "treacherously convinced the local cities" to secede from the empire⁹². In another passage the author wrote this about the same Toros II: "and Toros who was then ruling over Armenians had meanly taken many Isaurian cities from the king."⁹³

Thus our hypothesis, already sufficiently corroborated by the evidence in Arabic sources, finds additional proof in the information provided by Byzantine authors (especially Michael Italicus).

Why Levon I and not Levon II?

The study of the 12th–14th centuries' historiography and the way various historians responded to events taking place in Cilician Armenia and assessed its political leaders who played a decisive role in history, leads to the conclusion that we are dealing with an example of controversial evaluation of these state leaders' roles inside and outside the country. As we know, Armenian historiography contains no information or even a hint about the coronation of Levon I or the declaration of Cilicia's independence. Meanwhile, as we observed, it is reflected in the Byzantine panegyric.

Levon I was highly regarded and praised in Armenian historiography though he was in no way considered the founder of a dynasty or the Armenian statehood. Meanwhile in Arabic historiography the entire royal dynasty is named Levonid after Levon I. One might say that Armenians had traditionally estimated Toros's activity much higher than that of his father Levon. Levon I was outstanding as a daring political figure and apt leader. As a result he broke ties with Byzantium and conquered Lower Cilicia but

⁹² Ioann Kinnam, *Kratkoe obozrenie carstvovanija Ioanna i Manuila Komminov* (John Kinnamos, *The Brief Revue of the Reign of John and Manuel Komnenos*), Saint Petersburg, 1859, p. 133 (in Russian).

⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 251.

sustained it for only five years (1132–1137). Then despite fierce resistance the Byzantines re-conquered Cilicia, Levon and his family were captured and the Rubenid principality was terminated. Meanwhile Toros II fled captivity and, returning to his homeland, not only restored the Rubenid rule (which was equal to establishing a new principality) but also crushed the Byzantine army (led by general Andronikos) and successfully withstood the Seljuqs and the Crusaders. Finally during the campaign of Manuel Komnenos against Cilicia and Antioch, Toros II displayed his diplomatic skills through cautious steps and sustained peaceful relations with the Byzantines and the Crusaders. Naturally this success was also conditioned by a favorable international situation. However, it is clear that if Levon I's activity led to the termination of the principality, the long rule of Toros II resulted in a situation where the establishment of a full-fledged state and proclamation of a kingdom was just a matter of time (it was not accidental that the nineteenth-century Armenian novelist Cerenc' dedicated his historical novel "Toros, son of Levon" to Toros II Rubenid).

One of the most outstanding historians of the time, Kirakos Ganjakec'i, called Toros II a "grand prince"⁹⁴ or "grand prince of princes of Armenians,"⁹⁵ while Levon I was simply called a prince. The years of his rule were mentioned somewhat in passing and his name only in connection with his sons, whereas Ganjakec'i dedicated many pages to the events that happened in the days of Toros II:

And the Holy Catholicos sent the woman (the widow of Frank nationality who gave her fortress in Sophene to be the seat of the Catholicosate) to the country of Cilicia to the great prince of

⁹⁴ Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, ašxatasirut'yamb K. Melik'-Ohanjanyani (*History of Armenia published and commented by K. Melik-Ohanjanyan*), Yerevan, 1961, p. 154 (hereinafter Kirakos Ganjakec'i).

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 109.

princes of Armenians T'oros, and he gave her villages and farmlands, and other estates and made the woman very happy and then sent her to her country. This prince Toros and his brother Step'ane were the sons of prince Levon, son of Costantine, son of Ruben, the great grandsons of the latter, kin and descendants of Gagik Arcruni. They expanded the frontiers of the districts and cities of the land of Cilicia and Syria and many others; they captured the famed cities of the land: Tarsus, Sis, Adana, Seleucia, and the districts and towns surrounding them. When the emperor of the Byzantines, Alexios by name, heard about it, he sent numerous troops headed by Andronikos against the Armenian princes Stephaneh and Toros. And he seized Stephaneh by treachery and killed him, while Toros took his nephews Ruben and Levon, put them into a strong fortress and then took revenge for the blood of his brother from the Greek inhabitants of the land, as he destroyed the violators and expelled the rest of them from the country, and he ruled over all the districts with great might⁹⁶.

Vahram Rabuni also confirms that priority was given to the son and not the father, and the country was given his name:

Bravely he ruled

And loved any nation

That dropped using the name of Cilicia,

Using in its stead **"the country of Toros."**⁹⁷

See also further:

The emperor went to Antioch,

Called Great Toros with him,

Who accomplished great deeds of courage

⁹⁶ Kirakos Ganjakec'i, pp. 109–110.

⁹⁷ Vahram Rabuni, Votanavor Patmut'iwn Rubeneanc' (Versified History of the Rubenids by Vahram Rabuni), Paris, 1859, p. 195 (hereinafter Vahram Rabuni).

Worthy of utter admiration⁹⁸.

Finally: **"He took possession of the entire Cilicia, mastered it from end to end."**⁹⁹

An unbiased assessment of Levon I's activity was given by the Armenologist Yervand K'asuni in his monograph "The Cilician Armenian Principality in Near Eastern Political Context (1080–1137)":

Bold and experienced in warfare Levon I who managed to expand the borders of the Cilician Armenian principality up to the Mediterranean in such a short time, became himself the eye-witness of the collapse of that principality. As good a strategist and military commander as he was, Levon I lacked diplomacy, so much needed by a newborn principality emerging in the Near East¹⁰⁰.

Retrospective application of "Ibn Levon" in respect of the earlier period

Notably, "Ibn Levon" used in the 12th–13th centuries with the meaning of "Levonid" acquired a retrospective application in the works of Ibn al-Athīr or in the Arabic version of Ibn al-'Ibrī (Bar Hebraeus). It was used with reference to rulers from the end of the 11th to the beginning of the 12th centuries when there was no prince or king named Levon in Cilicia. Speaking about the First Crusade and the conquest of Antioch Ibn al-Aṭīr wrote:

Year 491 (Dec. 9, 1097 – Nov. 27, 1098). About the capture of Antioch by the Franks... When the Franks decided to assault Syria (Shām) they went to Constantinople, to enter the

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 205.

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 207.

¹⁰⁰ K'asuni Yervand, Kilikiyoy haykakan iṣḥanapetut'yunə Merjavor Arevelk'i k'alak'akan holovoyt' in mej (1080–1137) (The Cilician Armenian Principality in the Near Eastern Political Context (1080–1137)) Beirut, 1974, p. 212.

Muslim lands through the straits and then over land, which was easier... When they arrived Kilij Arslan withstood them with his troops and put a barrier but they fought and won in the month of Raban of the year [four hundred] ninety (July 4–June 3, 1098). Passing through his country they entered the country of **Ibn Layūn al-Armanī** and crossing it approached Antioch and besieged it¹⁰¹.

According to Ibn al-ʿIbrī (Bar Hebraeus): "...that year (1112) Basil the Armenian, Lord of the Gorges, the country of Ibn Levon, nicknamed Kūg (Thief or Robber) Bāsīl had died."¹⁰² This piece of information expands the boundaries of "the country of Ibn Levon", stretching the borders of the Rubenid principality or Cilicia proper to include the lands of Goł Vasil, i.e. the Euphratensis. In other words, this expression refers to the entire "Armenian world" shaped in the last quarter of the 11th century. Notably, the toponym "Gorges" corresponding to Cilicia (known for numerous mountain passes) did not quite correspond to Euphratensis. But the thirteenth-century historian retrospectively uses the expressions "the country of Ibn Levon" and "Gorges" referring to both Cilicia proper and Euphratensis of the end of the 11th century.

Let us consider the names and toponyms used by the same Bar Hebraeus in the Syriac version of his History:

*Then the Armenians, who from the days of Pilardos (Phila-retos) had held certain places, and one Khoj (i.e. lord) Basil, that is to say thief, who held Khishum and Raban, and the sons of Rufin (Ruben) who held places in Armenia, being afraid lest the Franks would become their masters, and expel them from their places, sent secretly to Ismail, the son of Danishmand, asking him to make an ambush for the Franks*¹⁰³.

¹⁰¹ **Ibn al-Asir**, p. 229; **Ibn al-Aʿīr**, al-Kāmil fī-l-tārīḥ, vol. VIII, p. 186.

¹⁰² **Ibn al-ʿIbrī**, p. 346.

¹⁰³ **Bar Hebraeus**, Chronography, p. 237.

Then after ten pages he writes: "*Now in Cilicia there were two brothers (Toros and Levon), the sons of Constantine, the son of Rufinus (Ruben) ... And in Kishum (Kesun), and Raban, and in Beth Hesne, and in Kal'ah Rhomaya (Hromkla), Goł Vasil.*"¹⁰⁴ It is clear that the historian used the toponym "Armenia" only to denote the Rubenid lands, while the domain of Goł Vasil is clearly distinct. Meanwhile in the Arabic version written by the same author Goł Vasil is named "the lord of the country of Ibn Levon".

As we have shown above "Ibn Levon" has the same meaning as "Rubenid", thus the country named "Bilād Ibn Levon" might be perceived as even wider than the "country of Rubenid's" or Cilicia. These words actually include both Cilicia and Euphratensis along with the entire neighboring regions populated by Armenians, or otherwise, the "Armenian world" newly shaped in the last quarter of the 11th century¹⁰⁵. Chronologically both "Ibn Levon" and "the country of Ibn Levon" were used in conjunction with events starting from the end of the 11th century and continuing to the '20s of the 13th century.

For how long were the expressions "Ibn Levon" and "the country of Ibn Levon" in use?

It is known that the enthronement of Het'um I was not quite perceived as the establishment of a new royal dynasty, i.e. it was

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

¹⁰⁵ To be fair we should note that the Armenian historians too were not always precise in mentioning the exact boundaries of Cilicia, Isauria or Euphratensis and these toponyms were often used interchangeably; e.g. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i considered that Cilicia was the principality of Goł Vasil: "The Armenian princes strengthened in Cilicia and took Xavataneq and Marash, and Behesni", or "Vasil and other princes went with entreaties to His Holiness Catholicos Grigor"; see (**Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i**, Patmut'iwn Hayoc', i loys əncayec' Mkrtič' Emin (History of Armenia by Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi), Moscow 1860, pp. 60–61).

not considered that the Rubenids were succeeded by the Hetumids, but rather as a union of the Rubenid-Hetumid houses (through the marriage of Het'um and Zabel) or as continuation of the Rubenid dynasty. Meanwhile, following the application of "Ibn Levon" in the Arabic historiography one may conclude that the Arab historians had been clearly discerning between the ruling dynasties of Cilician Armenia, though without attributing a separate dynastic name to the Hetumids¹⁰⁶. This may be shown by the fact that beginning with the '20s of the 13th century the Arabic sources stop using the expressions "Ibn Levon" and "the country of Ibn Levon" and employ instead only such forms as "king of Armenians", "Armenian country", "the country of Sīs", "the king of the country of Sīs", "lord of Sīs", which were earlier applied in parallel with "Ibn Levon".

Let us cite but a few of many examples from certain passages of the fourteenth-century historian al-Ḍahabī's "Book of Islamic Dynasties", containing valuable information about Cilician Armenia. Notably the author, who used the expression "Ibn Levon" with regard to Mleh or Levon the Great, did not apply it while speaking about the events of the Hetumid period. For instance, telling about the relationship between Mleh and Nūr al-Dīn in 568 AH (1172–1173 AD) he wrote: "Malīḥ ibn Lāwun al-Armanī al-Naṣrānī", i.e. "Armenian Christian Mleh Levonid"¹⁰⁷. In the same paragraph Cilicia is named "Bilād Sīs" (country of Sis) in one case, and "Mamlakat Sīs" (kingdom of Sis) in another¹⁰⁸.

Speaking about the first siege of Antioch by king Levon (600 AH /1203–1204), al-Ḍahabī applied the expression "ṣāhib Sīs" (the

lord of Sis)¹⁰⁹. Speaking about the events of 602 AH (1205–1206) and the Armenian raids on Aleppo headed by Levon he called the king "ṣāhib Sīs Ibn Layūn" (Lord of Sis Ibn Levon)¹¹⁰. In several other sections relating to the end of the 13th and the first decades of the 14th centuries al-Ḍahabī mentioned, among the events of 692 AH (1292–1293), that the sultan of Egypt demanded Behesni's submission by the lord of Cilicia (named here "ṣāhib Sīs"). The latter preferred to withdraw from the city¹¹¹. Among the events of 697 AH (1297–1298) the same al-Ḍahabī mentioned the Mamluk assault and siege of the "Sīs fortresses", continuing that they "took away the fortress of Maraš."¹¹² Relating the events of 699 AH (1299–1300) Al-Dahabi told about the Tatar invasion of Damascus and the king of Cilicia coming with them. They set the Big Mosque of Damascus on fire; Al-Ḍahabī used the expression: "the lord of Sis and infidels" (ṣāhib Sīs wa-l-kafara)¹¹³ as if to emphasize the sacrilegious act. Mentioned among the events of 722 AH (1322) is: "That year they captured Ayās, set on fire and looted the country of Sīs"¹¹⁴. Finally the capture of another Cilician fortress is mentioned among the events of 736 AH (1335–1336) as: "And captured the fortress *Nafir* (sic) in the country of Sis."¹¹⁵

The fourteenth-century author Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who had been

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 107.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 109.

¹¹¹ Ibid., pp. 217–218.

¹¹² Al-Ḍahabī, vol. 2, p. 261. As we know Maraš was located outside of Cilicia proper and was incorporated into the province of Euphratensis. It is clear that irrespective of the fact whether or not geographically it was Cilicia, Arab historians named any area conquered by Armenians, including even the principality of Goł Vasil, "the country of Sīs".

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 229.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 261.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 281.

¹⁰⁶ Similar to "Ibn Levon" there could be, e.g., "Ibn Het'um" or "Ibn Kostandin".

¹⁰⁷ Al-Ḍahabī, Kitāb duwal al-Islām, vol. 2, Beirut, 1999, p. 73 (hereinafter al-Ḍahabī).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

traveling in Cilicia and described his trips in a book (commonly named "Rihla") informed: "The fortress (Bağrās) is firm and invincible. There are orchards and cornfields nearby. From there on you enter the country of Sis, i.e. the country of *kāfir* Armenians. They are the subjects of Malik al-Nāṣir and pay taxes to him."¹¹⁶

The expression "the country of Sis" is applied by Arab historians since the end of the 12th century, when Sis became the capital of the Rubenid principality. The importance of the capital city rose with its turning into a trade center, equal to or even surpassing the traditional Cilician cities of Tarsus, Adana, Mopsuestia and Anavarza. Finally, at the end of the 13th century (after the fall of Hromkla in 1292) Sis became the residence of the Catholicoi, becoming a mighty political and religious center. Perhaps that was the reason for the increased application of the expression "the country of Sis" by Arab authors and naming Armenian kings "the lord of the country of Sis" or simply "the lord of Sis". Historians of the later periods used that expression more frequently than "Armenia", "the country of Armenians", while altogether dropping the use of "Ibn Levon" or "the country of Ibn Levon".

"Bayt Levon" or "the House of Levon"

The thirteenth-century historian Ibn al-Dawādārī adds a very important detail to the material in question. In the 8th volume of his extensive work relating to the events of 673 AH (1274–1275) and Cilician Armenia he makes a digression to familiarize the reader with more detailed information concerning century-long events of 568 AH (1172–1173). He enters into details of an alliance between Mleh and Nūr al-Dīn, the successful struggle of Mleh against the Byzantines and Crusaders and his taking control of

¹¹⁶ Ibn Batuta, translated by Hrač'ya Ačaryan, Yerevan, 1940, p. 9 (in Armenian).

entire Cilicia. Certainly Ibn al-Dawādārī had used other sources including those that have not reached us, but most important for us is his application of a new term – "Bayt Lawun", or the "House of Levon". Notably this concept is implied in the title of the chapter relating to Cilicia, which may be translated as: "Let us Recall [how] the House of Levon became the Lord of Sis (or turned to rule over Sis)."¹¹⁷

The voluminous work of Ibn al-Dawādārī was written at the turn of the 13th–14th centuries, i.e. when the concept of "Ibn Levon" was out of use: being substituted by such expressions as "the lord of Sis", "the lord of the country of Sis", "king of Sis". Meanwhile the historian uses the expression "the house of Levon", which substitutes and at the same time fully explains the meaning of the term "Ibn Levon", met further in the following context: "... and Malih Ibn Lawun ruled over his country."¹¹⁸ Actually the fourteenth-century Arab historian chose this term because the narrative referred to the events of 1172–1173. The historian made a very important remark here when introducing the concept of the "House of Levon" to readers, he added: "that House of Levon is that very house of the *takfūr* (*t'agavor* = king)"¹¹⁹, i.e. he explained that the Levonids were the royal dynasty.

Conclusions

- To denote the state existing in the 11th–14th centuries in the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean, at the borders of Asia Minor and Syria, the medieval sources applied two main approaches: naming it after the ethnos constituting the majority of the

¹¹⁷ Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-ğāmi' al-ğurar*, vol. VIII, Cairo, 1971, p. 180.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

population, i.e. "Armenia", the "country of Armenians", etc., or used the ancient toponym Cilicia denoting the entire region as was customary in the Roman and Byzantine periods. The latter was used by Armenian, Syrian, Latin (narrating also in Old French) and Byzantine authors, though both designations had been used to some extent. Although the Arab historians generally followed these two approaches, they started using some specific toponyms differing from the others. Applied along with "the country of Armenians" was the descriptive naming "Gorges", "the country of Gorges" and, especially later, "Sis", "the country of Sis", terms which were not perceived as the name of the city, but rather as the country of Sisvan – Cilicia.

- The term "Ibn Levon" was widely used in Arabic historiography, which literally meant the "son of Levon", in the sense of "the sons of Levon", "Levon's offspring", or the "Levonid". While applying it the Arab historians did not imply any specific individual but simply indicated rulers belonging to a certain dynasty generally accepted as "Rubenid".
- The name of the dynasty originated from prince Levon I under whom the Armenians first captured Lower Cilicia with its large cities and, fully breaking relations with the Byzantines, made the first attempt to establish a fully independent state. These circumstances and the fact that in the 7th–10th centuries Lower Cilicia was included within different Arab states and was perceived by the Arabs as part of Shām, i.e. Greater Syria, made Levon I even more significant in their eyes. He was perceived not only as a brave commander, but also as the founder of a new Armenian state and ruling dynasty.
- Among historical treatises written in other languages, the works of Syrian historians that provide interpretation of a number of words, concepts and even obsolete terms, are exceptionally important for the purposes of this article. Most important of the

Syrian authors that played the role of mediators between the Christian and Muslim environments was Bar Hebraeus whose narrative (existing both in Syriac and Arabic) provided an opportunity to compare the two versions of his history thus greatly helping us bridge the approaches of Arab historians.

- The application of the name "Ibn Levon", especially its retrospective use in the description of events relating to the late 11th and early 12th centuries, where "the country of Ibn Levon" was applied for the period when none of the princes was named Levon in Cilicia, is a phenomenon limited to Arabic historiography.
- The same term was used in respect to Goł (Gogh) Vasil's principality, which, as we know, was located in the Euphratensis. It shows that any Armenian state formation in the region (whether in Cilicia, Isauria, Euphratensis or Cappadocia) was perceived by Arab historians as "the country of Ibn Levon".
- Beginning with the '20s of the 13th century Arab historians stop using "Ibn Levon", thus creating a kind of divide between the Rubenid and the succeeding periods, after which they apply "the country of Armenians" (formerly in use), "the country of Sis" or "Sis", and accordingly "the king of Armenians", "the king of the country of Armenians", "the king of the country of Sis" or the "lord of Sis" with respect to its rulers.
- The expression "Bayt Lāwun" (the House of Levon/ *Tunn Levoneants*) is an additional confirmation that Ibn Levon is a dynastic name. It denotes that the progeny or successors of Levon were implied, not just his son(s), and with that the clear implication that Levon I was the founder of the dynasty.
- The information by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī that Cilicia has been taken away from the Byzantines by Levon the Armenian, whose offspring hold the country, provides an answer to numerous questions. It is beyond doubt that "Levon the Armenian" is

grand prince Levon I (1129–1137) from whom the Levonids, according to Arab historians, descend.

- It is worth noting that the name of Levon is difficult to reproduce in Arabic script because classical Arabic lacked –e, –o and –v. That is why it is met in Arabic sources in a number of variants, namely: “Lāwun”, “Lāwūn”, “Lāyūn and “Līfūn”. In any case the letter –n clearly and consistently distinguishes the name from the Latin Leo. At the same time the majority of the variants contain the letter “waw” corresponding to Armenian “l”, thus differing from the Greek Leon and approximating the Armenian spelling of Levon.
- If - or rather since - the name “Ibn Levon” means “Levonid”, which is equal to “Rubenid”, then how should the translator or scholar dealing with the works of Arab historians translate or quote them? It seems that short of employing the adjectival suffix -id to denote the dynastic implication, the expressions “Ibn Levon” or “the country of Ibn Levon” should be left intact, that is to say they should be preserved in the text as historically received expressions and provided with applicable commentary.

3. THE TITLE T'AGAVOR / TAKFÜR IN MEDIEVAL MUSLIM HISTORIOGRAPHY GAGIK DANIELYAN

The history of the Armenian Principality and then Kingdom of Cilicia, while one of the most important chapters of Armenian history, is almost equally valuable within the context of Near Eastern political and cultural history. The nearly three centuries of its existence were marked not only by the creation of abundant material and cultural heritage, but also by a unique footprint in the history of political interrelations in the Levant. For the in-depth and complex analysis of these relations the preserved historiographical material is of vital importance not merely as major source of information; the examination of nomenclature, titulature, terminology and even the separate study of obsolete words and borrowings encountered in it, can also add a lot to our perceptions. A sound example of this is the Armenian title “*t'agavor*” widely utilized in medieval Muslim historiography.

The word “*t'agavor*” is obviously of Armenian origin. It consists of the root word “*t'ag*”, (of Persian origin, i.e. “crown”) and the formative suffix “(a)vor”, which has a possessive meaning, as in “*t'agakir*” – *t'ag*-bearer, the one who wears a crown, a king. This etymological derivation was suggested by the renowned scholar of Armenian studies H. Hübschmann in the 19th century¹. In the “Cilician era” the word was borrowed into Syriac (*takāwōr*²/*takpūr*³), Arabic (*takfūr*), Turkish and Persian (with

¹ H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik: I Teil. Armenische Etymologie*, Druck und Verlag von Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1897, S. 153.

² Cl. A. Ciancaglini strangely considers that *takāwōr* (interpreted as “king of Armenians”) was borrowed by Syriac from Persian and not directly from Armenian. See: Cl. A. Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac*, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2008, p. 267.

variants *tekfür*, *tekür/takwar*, *tekir*, *teker*)⁴. However, this version of the word's etymological interpretation was not the only accepted one for a long time⁵. For instance, J. Zenker et al. were of the opinion that the word "*takfür*" originated from gradual distortion (*nikfür* > *takfür*) of the Byzantine emperor's name (Nicephorus II Phocas, r. 963-969)⁶ "*because these two letters/symbols differ from each other in Arabic only by definite number of diacritic points.*"⁷ In fact, this etymology is absolutely erroneous as the emperor's name was transliterated in Arabic sources as *Niqfür* and not *Nikfür*⁸.

While answering the question whether the word *t'agavor* penetrated into the Turkish usage directly or indirectly, Fr. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst stood for the direct borrowing, because the title was surely well-known to the Seljuq Turks of Rüm from the

³ For instance in his "*History*" Bar Sawma (d. 1294), a Nestorian monk, traveler and diplomat, called the king of Cilician Armenia, Het'um II (1289-1307 with interruptions), simply *takpūr* while telling about the efforts of the Armenian king to release the Nestorian Catholicos Mar Yahballaha from the persecutions of the Mongol emir Nawrūz: "*Then King Khetam (or Hathom), Takpur (Takawor) of the Arimnaye (Armenians), came down into that church which Rabban Sawma had built, and by means of the greatness of his gifts (i.e. bribes), and by his soldiers, saved it from destruction*". See *The Monks of Kublai Khan, Emperor of China or The History of the Life and Travels of Rabban Sawma, Envoy and Plenipotentiary of the Mongol Khans to the Kings of Europe, and Markos Who as Mar Yahbh-Allaha III Became Patriarch of the Church of East in Asia*, tr. from Syriac E. A. W. Budge, Religious Tract Society, London, 1928, pp. 103-104.

⁴ Hr. Ačařyan, *Hayeren armatakan bařaran* (Armenian Etimological Dictionary), vol. II, Yerevan, 1973, p. 136 (in Armenian).

⁵ See for other etymological variants, see *ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

⁶ J. T. Zenker, *Türkisch-Arabisch-Persisches Handwörterbuch*, Heft I, Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann, Leipzig, 1862, S. 304.

⁷ Fr. fon Krëlic'-Grayřenhorst, *Hayerēnē p'oxařeal bařer t'urk'erēni mēj* ("*The Armenian loanwords in Turkish*"), *Handēs Amsoreay*, Venice, 1911, p. 262.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 264; Hr. Ačařyan, *Hayeren armatakan bařaran*, vol. II, p. 136.

inscriptions on Armenian-Seljuq bilingual coins. However, in keeping with this point of view, it seems that it is an earlier borrowing that passed into the Turkish language as a result of Armenian-Seljuq contacts immediately after the establishment of the Cilician Armenian Kingdom, i.e. at the beginning of the 13th century. Through the Turkish factor in the Near East and Asia Minor the title *t'agavor* was extended to the emperors of Trebizond as well as the region's other Christian rulers⁹. In addition to historiography it penetrated into Turkish folkloric (epics, legends) terminology¹⁰, as opposed to Arabic - where the word was employed exclusively in historical literature and was applied to Armenian kings of Cilicia, as well as to Greek emperors of Byzantium¹¹ and Trebizond. It is worth noting that the word *tekfür*

⁹ Cf. O. Vil'čevskij [review], *Kniga moego deda Korkuta. Oguzskij geroičeskij èpos* (The Book of my grandfather Korkut. The Oghuz heroic epic), *Sovetskaja ètnografija*, 1963, № 5, p. 173 (in Russian). The connotations of the meaning of the title *t'agavor* for Byzantine-Turkish and generally Byzantine-Muslim relations are beyond the scope of this study; moreover they are thoroughly studied by A. Savvides (On the origins and connotation of the term "*tekfür*" in Byzantine-Turkish relations, *Byzantion*, vol. 71.2, 2001, pp. 451-461 and "*Tekfür*", in: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam (New edition) (hereinafter EI²)*, vol. 10 (T-U), Brill, Leiden, 2000, pp. 413-414) and R. Shukurov (*Velikiè Komniny i Vostok (1204-1461)*, Aletejja, St. Petersburg, 2001, pp. 48-50) (in Russian).

¹⁰ See for example: *Kniga moego deda Korkuta. Oguzskij geroičeskij èpos*, per. v. v. Bartol'da, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1962, pp. 48, 50, 73, 95 (in Russian); A. Savvides, *On the origins*, pp. 456-457. See below for another narrative reflecting the oral traditions of the Oguz Turks.

¹¹ According to another opinion in circulation in the 19th century the word *takfür* was borrowed by Muslim chroniclers from the nearly homophonous *fağfür* (*bağbūr*), by which the Muslim historians denoted the Chinese emperors (*Takfür*, the great infidel king in the West; *Fağfür*, the great infidel king in the East). See: *The book of Ser Marco Polo, The Venetian, concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, vol. 2, tr. and ed. by C. H. Yule, London, 1871, p. 110, note 1. On a specific case of usage of the term, see: *Travels of Ibn Bařfūta*, A. D.

is preserved in a number of Turkish toponyms (e.g. *Tekirdağ*, *Tekir-gölü*, *Tekfur-saray*, etc.)¹².

The title "*t'agavor Hayots*" was one of the most widespread and traditional titles given to the secular rulers of the state since the Arsacid and Bagratid dynasties. The titulature of the Bagratid dynasty included also such other titles as "*ark'a hayoc*" ("King of Armenia"), "*šah[a]nšah*" ("King of Kings") and "*tiezerakal*" ("Master of the Universe"). In terms of Aram Ter-Levondyan, the Arab chroniclers, simply copied the forms of "*ark'a hayoc*" and "*t'agavor hayoc*", and called Bagratid kings "*malik al-arman*"¹³. "If during Ashot I or Smbat I's reign, when Armenia was a centralized, united and powerful kingdom, Bagratid rulers used the titles of "*ark'a hayoc*" and "*t'agavor hayoc' ev vrac*" ("king of Armenians and Georgians") as well as as "*Tiezerakal*" from the '20s of the 10th century till the middle of the 11th century. When the Armenian kingdom was less centralized, "*šah[a]nšah*" also entered into common usage. The primary reason for this was that the provincial lords also started to use the title "*t'agavor*"¹⁴.

Nevertheless, the title "*t'agavor-takfur*" was not applied by Arab chroniclers to the Bagratid kings, or to any other provincial

1325-1354, ed. by H. A. R. Gibb, Hakluyt Society, London, 1958, p. 488; A. Savvides, *On the origins*, pp. 455-456; Hr. Ačařyan, *Hayeren armatakan bařaran*, vol. 2, pp. 136-137.

¹² Ibid., p. 136; A. Savvides, *On the origins*, p. 453.

¹³ A. Ter-Levondyan, *Halbati araberan arjanagrut'yuna ev Bagratuni t'agavomeri titlosnera* (The Arabic inscription of Haghbat and the titles of the Bagratid kings), *Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri* (*Herald of the Social Sciences*), 1979, № 1, p. 75; idem, *Armenija i Arabskij Xalifat* (Armenia and the Arab Caliphate), Yerevan, 1977, p. 238, 248; K. Juzbařjan, *Armjanskije gosudarstva epoxi Bagratidov i Vizantiya IX-XI vv.* (The Armenian states of the Bagratid era and Byzantium in IX-XI cc.), Moscow, 1988, pp. 70-71 (in Russian).

¹⁴ A. Ter-Levondyan, *Halbati araberan arjanagrut'yuna*, p. 76.

king. It remains to be presumed that the title was incorporated into the vocabulary of the Middle Eastern diplomatic relations quickly after the formation of the Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia.

Receiving a new legal status after the coronation of Levon I in 1198, the Cilician Armenian state entered into a new historical and political phase. Immediately after his coronation king Levon (1198-1219), whether by means of royal edicts, official letters or coin legends, put into circulation the title "*t'agavor amenayn Hayots*"¹⁵, "*which contained a precept*", according to L. Ter-Petrossian, "*directed both to the outer world and the inner Armenian environment*."¹⁶ Hereinafter the title "*t'agavor hayoc*" became one of the means of acknowledging and identifying the Armenian state in the international political arena. Of course, we are speaking about one of the traditional namings of the country accepted in Arabic-Islamic historiography: "*bilād takfur*" (the country of the *t'agavor(s)/king(s)*) to be discussed below.

To call the Armenian king *takfur*, however, the Muslim authors might have had much more serious and – from the viewpoint of Islamic ideology – much more logical reasons. Due to its important strategic location Cilicia appeared to be an "apple of discord" for both Arabs and Byzantines who had been fighting for the region for some five hundred years. From time to time by re-

¹⁵ The opinion that this title appeared by analogy with the already existing title "*Amenayn Hayoc' Kat'olikos*" is quite correct. See A. Bozoyan, *Kat'olikos hayoc' titlosi norovi ankaluma Bagratunyac't'agavorut'yan ankumic' heto* (The new perception of the title "*Catholicos of Armenians*" after the fall of the Bagratid kingdom), in: *Hayastana ev K'ristonya Arevelk'a* (Armenia and the Christian East), ed. by P. Muradyan, Yerevan, 2000, pp. 160-161 (in Armenian); L. Ter-Petrossian, *Xač'akirnera ev hayera* (The Crusaders and the Armenians), vol. II, *Patma-k'alak'agitakan hetazotutyun* (Historico-political study), Yerevan, 2007, p. 196.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 196.

conquering this land, and especially assuming control over the barely passable gorges and passes of Mountainous Cilicia in particular, one or the other got definite advantage over its rival. In this sense, it is not surprising at all that Arabs called these regions "*bilād al-durūb*" (literally, "a country of mountain passes")¹⁷. To protect areas adjacent to the Byzantine Empire ("*dawāhī al-Rūm*") elongated lines of fortifications (*awāšim*) were erected along the borderline, which were called "*tağr*" (pl. "*tuğūr*"). It was especially important for Arabs to keep the frontier line of fortresses called "*tuğūr al-Šām*" (the Syrian line of fortifications) safe, which protected the southern pass of the Taurus Mountains as well as the Cilician fortresses of Tarsus, Msis (Mopsuestia) and Adana.¹⁸ Hence, having been the possessors of Cilicia in the recent past, the Muslims could not be reconciled with the overlordship of the Armenians in a region that was once considered to be an integral

¹⁷ See, for example, **Yāqūt al-Ḥamāwī**, *Mu'ğam al-buldān*, vol. 2, Dār Šādir, Beirut, 1977, p. 447; **Ibn al-Aṭṭr**, *Al-Kāmil fī al-tārīḥ*, vol. 10, ed. by Muḥammad Yūsuf Daqqāq, Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, Beirut, 2003, p. 469; **Al-'Umārī**, *Kitāb al-Ta'rīf bi-muštalah al-šarīf*, Maṭba'at al-'Ašima, Cairo, 1894, p. 40; **Ibn Ḥaldūn**, *Al-'Ibar wa-diwān al-mubtada' wa-l-ḥabar fī tārīḥ al-'Arab wa-l-Barbar*, vol. 5, ed. by Ḥalīl Šihāda and Suhayl Zakkār, Dār al-Fikr, Beirut, 2000, p. 480; **Al-'Aynī**, *'Iqd al-ğumān fī tārīḥ ahl al-zamān*, vol. 3, ed. by Maḥmūd Rizq Maḥmūd, Dār al-kutub wa-l-waṭā'iq al-qawmiyya, Cairo, 2007, p. 179 (hereinafter, *'Iqd-MRM*).

¹⁸ **Ibn Ḥurdağbih**, *Al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, Brill, Leiden, 1889, pp. 99-100; **Qudāmat ibn Ġa'far**, *Kitāb al-Ḥarāğ wa-šinā'at al-kitāba*, ed. by Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Zubaydī, Baghdad, 1981, p. 186; **Yāqūt al-Ḥamāwī**, *Mu'ğam*, vol. 2, p. 79, also *Kitāb al-Muštariq waḍ'an wa-muftariq šaq'an*, Beirut, 1986, p. 87; **Abū al-Fidā'**, *Taqwīm al-buldān* (Géographie d'Aboulféda, ed. M. Reinaud et W. Mac Guckin de Slane, Paris, 1840), pp. 234-235; **al-Dimašqī**, *Nuḥbat al-dahr fī 'ağā'ib al-barr wa-l-baḥr* (Cosmographie de Chems-ed-Din Abou Abdallah Mohammed ed-Dimichqui, ed. M. A. F. Mehren, Saint-Petersbourg, 1866), p. 214.

part of *Dār al-Islām* ("Home of Islam") and its defensive outpost against the infidels¹⁹.

The following passage by an Arab historian al-'Umārī (d. 1349) thoroughly reflects the attitude of the Muslims towards the Armenian kings: "*And finally their (Armenians) allegiance was to the rest part of the Seljuq kings of Rūm (li-baqiyyat al-mulūk al-salāḡiqa bi-l-Rūm), and and there was well established poll-tax (ğizya) and well-known obedience on them, and there were governors/overseers (al-'ummāl wa-l-šihānī 'alā al-bilād) appointed by the Seljuq king until the [Seljuqid] state weakened ... this was what the cursed (the Armenian king) was serving and his birdie turned into an eagle, and his perjuries became frequent ... and he conquered these countries and took possession of them and, gradually reducing the Seljuq inheritance, possessed it*"²⁰. In ad-

¹⁹ The region had similar importance for the Byzantines too. For detailed information on border fortifications see **C. E. Bosworth**, *Al-Thughur*; 1. In the Arab-Byzantine frontier region, *ET*², vol. 10 (T-U), E. J. Brill, Leiden, 2000, pp. 446-447, also The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontiers in Early and Middle 'Abbasid times, *Oriens*, vol. 33, 1992, pp. 268-286; **M. Bonner**, The naming of the frontier: 'Awāšim, Thughūr, and the Arab geographers, *BSOAS*, vol. 57/1, 1994, pp. 17-24; **Šābir Muḥammad Diyāb**, *Al-Muslimūn wa-ğihāduhum idda al-Rūm fī Armīnya wa-l-tuğūr al-Ġazariyya wa-l-Šāmiyya ḥilāla al-qarn al-rābi' al-ḡirī*, Maktabat al-Salām al-'Ālamiyya, Cairo, 1984, as well as **H. Nalbandyan**, *Arabakan albyurnera Hayastani ev harevan erkrneri masin: Yakut al-Hamawi, Abul-Fida, Ibn Shaddad, Yerevan, 1965*, pp. 151-152 (in Armenian); **A. Ter-Gevondjan**, *Armenija*, pp. 153-154; idem, Arabakan saḥmanayin amrut'yunneri gotin (suhur) (The Zone of Arab Frontier Fortifications(suhur)), *Patma-banasirakan handes* (Historical-philological journal, hereinafter HPJ), 1981, № 2, pp. 134-149 (in Armenian) and **Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āšūr**, *Buḥūt wa-dirāsāt fī tārīḥ al-ušūr al-wustā*, Cairo, 1977, pp. 225-227.

²⁰ **Al-'Umārī**, *Al-Ta'rīf*, pp. 55-56. Full title of the narration is "*Al-Ta'rīf bi-muštalah al-šarīf*" ("Instruction on the noble terminology").

dition, al-Qalqashandi (d. 1418), calling a spade a spade, clearly explained the reasons for this kind of attitude: "*In the days of the caliphs it (Cilicia) was called a "Country of border fortifications" (bilād al-ṭuḡūr wa-l-'awāšim), and it was in the hands of the Muslims*". The historian begins his speech with these words and sums up with the following.²¹ "... and he was called *mutamallik Sīs* ("ruler of Sis") and not *malik Sīs* ("king of Sis") first and foremost because it (the country of Sis) had initially been in the hands of the Muslims, and only after a while the aforementioned Armenian ruler rushed and conquered it from the Muslims. [All] praise is [due] to Allāh, that he returned it to the Muslims and strengthened it within the Islamic kingdoms".²²

²¹ **Al-Qalqashandī**, *Ṣubḥ al-a'ṣā fī ṣinā'at al-inṣā'*, vol. 8, Cairo, 1915, pp. 29-30.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 33. Cf., *ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 130-131. Even in cases when the Arab chroniclers talk about the strengthening of the Cilician Armenian state in the context of Armenian-Muslim cooperation, as it was in the case of Mleh (1170-1175) and Nūr al-Dīn Zankī (1146-1174), they write about it either with great regret or try to justify the atabek by all means considering his position as foresight, a step dictated by the political situation, which was, in fact, true to a considerable extent. For instance, Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. 1335) and some other authors quoting another historian Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, whose work "*al-Barq al-Ṣāmī*" reached us only through al-Bundārī's (d. after 1226) abridgement, talks about the events of the time in the following way: "*This country [in the past] used to be under the domination of the ruler of Rūm, but Malīh ibn Lāwun (Lewon's son Mleh) conquered it. This happened due to the fact that al-Malik al-'Adil Nūr al-Dīn al-Ṣahīd was relying on him and assisting him to achieve his goals. Nūr al-Dīn, Allāh have mercy upon him, thereby intended to give authority to infidels to fight against disbelievers*" (*sallaṭa al-kafara 'alā al-faḡara*). He was making him strong against the neighbouring Franks. And when Malīh ibn Lāwun strengthened his country, the king of Rūm sent one of his relatives named Andrunīqūs with a massive army against him. Malīh met him [in a battle] and defeated him utterly (*kasarahu kasratan ṣanī'atan*) and captured thirty of their commanders. This battle took place at the end of Rabī' al-Āḥir (20 November 1172-19 December 1172) of the year 568 A.H. When Nūr al-Dīn al-

These Arab historians's remarks come to prove that, from the viewpoint of denying the legitimacy of Armenian king's power in Cilicia, it was much more advantageous to call Armenian sovereigns in any way but not "*malik*"²³. Here, in fact, the title *takfūr* came to help the Muslim chroniclers as a proper term. Figuratively speaking, served as a unique kaleidoscope to depict the false image

Ṣahīd learned about it, he sent gifts to Malīh. Then he sent a letter to Baḡdād, praising his deed to the Caliph and telling that Malīh was one of the subjects of Nūr al-Dīn al-Ṣahīd. Thereafter the house of this Takfūr grew stronger in this country instead of Nūr al-Dīn al-Ṣahīd". See **Ibn al-Dawādārī**, *Kanz al-durar wa-ḡāmi' al-ḡurar*, vol. 8, ed. by Üliḥ Hārmān, Cairo, 1971, p. 180. Cf., **Abū Ṣāma**, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, ed. by Ibrāhīm Ṣams al-Dīn, Beirut, 2002, p. 174; **Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir**, *Al-rawḍ al-zāhir fī sirat al-Mālik al-Zāhir*, ed. by 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥuwayṭir, Riyāḍ, 1976, p. 440; **Ibn al-Ḡazarī**, *Hawādīṭ al-zamān / al-Muḥtār min tāriḥ ibn al-Ḡazarī*, ed. by Ḥaḍīr 'Abbās Muḥammad Ḥalīfat al-Munṣadāwī, Dār al-kitāb al-'arabī, Beirut, 1988, p. 276; **Al-Dahabī**, *Tāriḥ al-Islām*, vol. 39, ed. by 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī, Beirut, 1996, p. 45-46; **Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Fadā'il**, *Al-Nahḡ al-sadīd wa-durr al-farīd fīmā ba'da tāriḥ Ibn al-'Amīd* (Moufazz-zal ibn Abil-Fazāil, Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks, Texte arabe publié et traduit en français par E. Blochet in: Patrologia orientalis, tome 14, paris, 1919), pp. 230-231 [394-395]; **Ibn al-Furāt**, *Tāriḥ al-duwal wa-l-mulūk*, vol. 7, ed. by Quṣṭanṭīn Zurayq, Beirut, 1942, pp. 27-28; **Ibn al-Ṣiḥna**, *Al-durr al-muntaḥab fī tāriḥ mamlakat Ḥalab*, ed. by 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Darwīṣ, Damascus, 1984, p. 182. **Al-Dahabī** wrote: "*When Mleh defeated Rum and became stronger, he strengthened Sis, and this was considered one of the mistakes by Nūr al-Dīn*". See **al-Dahabī**, *Tāriḥ al-Islām*, vol. 2, ed. by Ḥasan Ismā'il Marwa, Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, 1999, p. 73. Cf. the evidences by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233) and Ibn al-Adīm (d. 1262). See **Ibn al-Aḥir**, *Al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 46, as well as **Ibn al-Asīr**, *Otar albyurnerā Hayastani ev hayeri masin*, 11 (Ibn al-Aḥir. Foreign sources about Armenia and Armenians, vol. 11), trans. intro. and comments by **A. Ter-Levondyan**, Yerevan, 1981, pp. 262-263 (in Armenian) and **Ibn al-Adīm**, *Zubdat al-halab min tāriḥ Ḥalab*, ed. by Ḥalīl Maṣṣūr, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, Beirut, 1996, p. 356.

²³ Cf. **Āṣūr**, *Buḥūt*, p. 239.

of the official attitude towards the Armenian kingdom (and other Christian countries of the region), to show the feigning loyalty and tolerance and in fact to conceal the emotional side of it, in other words, its discriminatory and subjective nature.

As indicated by al-'Umārī in his "al-Ta'rīf", the title *takfūr* in diplomatic documents and official correspondence was equivalent to "malik" and could be applied in its stead. Specifically he noted: "And their kings are called *takfūr* that has been attributed to them up untill now."²⁴ In his other work "Masālik al-abṣār" the same author wrote: "The king of Trebizond like Armenian kings is called *takfūr*."²⁵ In Ibn Ḥaldūn's (d. 1406) "History" we read: "And their king is called by the title *takfūr* and their king was the lord of these gorges (*durūb*) yet in the times of Al-Malik al-Kāmil and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn...."²⁶ Badr al-Dīn al-Aynī (d. 1451) in his biographical work dedicated to the Mamluk sultan al-Mu'ayyad Ṣayḥ (r. 1412-1421) wrote: "The Slavonic kings are called *māḡak*, the ruler of the Ḥlat region – *šahramān* and the Armenian kings – *taqfūr* (sic)."²⁷

The fact that *takfūr* was one of the official names for the king of Cilician Armenia during the reign of Ilkhans is verified by the Persian chronicler of the 14th century Muḥammad Naḡgawānī in his administrative and chancery manual called "Dastūr al-kātib". "To the Christian *takfūrs* of Sis ... it should be written (in this way): "To the *takfūr* of Sis, that is the leader and the head of this community, the great, honorable basileus, the glory of the Alexandrian

²⁴ Al-'Umārī, *Al-Ta'rīf*, p. 55.

²⁵ See *ibid.*, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, vol. 3, ed. by Kāmil Salmān al-Ḡubūrī, Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya, Beirut, 2010, p. 258.

²⁶ Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Al-'Ibar*, vol. 5, p. 444.

²⁷ See al-'Aynī, *Al-Sayf al-muḥannad fī sīrat al-Mālik al-Mu'ayyad "Ṣayḥ al-Maḥmūdī"*, ed. by Fahīm Muḥammad Ṣaltūt, Dār al-kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo, 1998, p. 100. Cf. *ibid.*, *'Iqd*, vol. 3, ed. by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, Cairo, 1990, pp. 150-152 (hereinafter *'Iqd-MMA*).

family, the Christians' shelter, to the *takfūr* of Sis, may the power of whom be permanent"²⁸.

Contrary to this, and despite al-'Umārī's observation about the equivalence of both titles in the Mamluk official correspondence and state documents, as the official title of the Armenian king *malik* appears to be more frequently used. This can be shown by thorough examination of al-'Umārī's, al-Qalqaṣandī's and Ibn Naṣīr al-Ḡayṣ's manuals on the Mamluk chancery: notably the formula of the letters addressed to the Armenian kings as well as the preserved texts of the Armenian-Mamluk treaties²⁹. As an example al-'Umārī brings a formula of a letter sent to the king of Cilician Armenia Levon IV (1320-1342). It begins with the following inscriptio (*rasm al-mukātaba*): "This letter is addressed to the honorable king, brave, courageous, valiant, bold man, the lion (al-

²⁸ Muḥammad ibn Hindūṣāh Naḡgawānī, *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'yīn al-marātib / Muxammad ibn Xinduṣax Naxčivani*, Rukovodstvo dlja pisca pri opredelenii stepenej, ed. by A. A. Ali-Zade, Moscow, 1976, p. 391 (in Russian). Cf., R. Šukurov, *Velikiè Komniny*, pp. 49-50. On the contrary, an anonymous author of a persian geography titled "Aḡā'ib al-Dunyā" ("Marvels of the world"), composed presumably in the twenties of 13th century, is mistaken in applying the title *tekūr/takwar* to "the rulers of Abḡāz (Georgia) and Franks". See *'Adḡāib ad-dunjā* (Cudesā mira), krit. tekst, per. s pers., komment. i ukazateli L.P. Smimovoj, 1993, p. 223, 519 (in Russian). The other usage of the term in this work is also peculiar and most likely refers to the ruler of the Armenian principality of Xač'en: "[Its inhabitants] are Armenians. The people of Abḡāz used to call their ruler *tekūr/takwar*". *Ibid.*, p. 199, 503. Cf., N.D. Mikluxo-Maklaj, *Geografičeskoe sočinenie XIII v. na persidskom jazyke (novyj istočnik po istoričeskoj geografii Azerbajdžana i Armenii)*, *Učēnye zapiski instituta vostokovedenija*, vol. IX, 1954, pp. 204-205. See also A. Yakobean, Xač'en-Xoxanaberd amroc'ə ev nra iṣxanatoḥmə X-XIII darderum (The Fortress of Xač'en-Xoxanaberd and its Princely Dynasty in the 10th-13th centuries), *Handēs Amsoreay*, 2010, pp. 105-107.

²⁹ A similar treaty will be discussed below.

dirgam al-ğadanfar), *Lifūn ibn Ūšin*, the glory of Christian belief, the shelter of Christian community, the pillar of baptized people (*banū ma'mūdiyya*), the friend of sultans and kings"³⁰. Even on the brink of the Armenian kingdom's destruction, the formula of a letter addressed by the Mamluk authorities to the king of Cilician Armenia recorded by Ibn Naẓir al-Ğayš in his manual "Taṭqīf al-ta'rīf", is no worse than the previous one in the diversity of honorable titles applied to the monarch of Cilician Armenia. Of course, this was just a protocol requirement in following "diplomatic correspondence ethics". Thus: "This letter is addressed to the honorable king (*ḥaḍrat al-malik*), the respected, meritorious, courageous, brave *Kustandīn ibn Haytūm*, the power of Christian belief, the head of Christian community, the pillar of baptized people, the friend of sultans and kings..."³¹. In the Arabic chronicles, histories and biographical encyclopaedias of the 13th-14th centuries this title appears mainly in formulas of *malik al-arman* (king of Armenians)³² and *malik Sīs* (king of Sis)³³.

³⁰ See *Al-'Umārī*, *Al-Ta'rīf*, p. 57 and also *al-Qalqaşandī*, *Şubḥ*, vol. 8, p. 31.

³¹ See *Ibn Naẓir al-Ğayš*, *Taṭqīf al-Ta'rīf bi-l-muṣṭalaḥ al-şarīf*, ed. by Rūdulf Fasālī, *Al-Ma'had al-'Ilmī al-Faransī li-l-aṭār al-şarqiyya*, Cairo, 1987, p. 44. As the title indicates, this work of Ibn Naẓir al-Ğayš is an amended edition of al-'Umārī's work.

³² *Yāqūt al-Ḥamāwī*, *Mu'ğam*, vol. 4, p. 391; *Abū al-Fidā'*, *Taqwīm*, p. 251, 257; *al-Dahabī*, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 45, p. 15; *Ibn Kaṭīr*, *Al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, vol. 15, ed. by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Muḥsīn al-Turkī, Dār Ḥağar, 1998, p. 265; 270; *al-'Umārī*, *Masālik*, vol. 3, p. 258 and vol. 27, p. 124; *Ibn al-Furāt*, *al-Duwal*, vol. 5.1, ed. by Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Şammā, 1970, pp. 190-191; *al-Maqrīzī*, *Kitāb al-sulūk li-ma'rīfat duwal al-mulūk*, vol. 1.2, ed. by Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyāda, Maṭba'at al-ta'līf wa-l-tarğama wa-l-naşr, Cairo, pp. 510-511.

³³ *Baybars al-Manşūrī*, *Muḥṭār al-aḥbār*, ed. by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Şāliḥ Hamdān, *al-Dār al-Mişriyya al-Lubnāniyya*, Cairo, 1993, p. 33; *Ibn Ḥaldūn*, *al-'Ibar*, vol. 5, p. 635; *al-Maqrīzī*, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.2, p. 552, 568.

Let us pause for a while on an interesting case of Arabic historians' use of the title *malik* for the Armenian king of Cilicia Het'um I. The royal scribe of Baybars Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir while writing about the Armenian king in his "*Al-Rawḍ al-zāhir*" named him *al-malik al-muğīr Haytūm ibn Kuşantīn ibn Bāsāk*³⁴. This naming of Het'um by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir was directly or indirectly borrowed by Mamluk chroniclers of the next generation: *al-Nuwayrī*³⁵, *al-Maqrīzī*³⁶ and *al-Aynī*³⁷. Literally translated from Arabic, *al-malik al-muğīr* means "the protector king" ("Het'um, "the protector king", son of Costandin, son of Vasak"), which at the first glance leaves an impression of an honorary title. Yet in another passage the Muslim chronicler, who had bestowed such an honorable title on Het'um, characterized the encroachments of the Armenian king on Muslim lands as *murāwağa* (the text has *murāwağat al-takfūr*, that is "the king's cunning").³⁸ This gives us

³⁴ See *Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir*, *Al-Rawḍ*, p. 269.

³⁵ See *al-Nuwayrī*, *Nihāya*, vol. 30, p. 185.

³⁶ Notably instead of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's expression *al-malik al-muğīr* in the corresponding passage of "*Kitāb al-sulūk*" *al-Maqrīzī* uses the title *al-takfūr*: see *al-Maqrīzī*, *Al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.2, p. 551. Still in another passage relating to the death of Het'um *al-Maqrīzī* as well as *Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir* used the expression *al-malik al-muğīr*. See *ibid.*, p. 590 and cf. *Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir*, *Al-Rawḍ*, p. 374. Notably in the French translation of that passage of "*Kitāb al-sulūk*" M. Quatremère, having not understood the meaning of the expression *al-malik al-muğīr*, left it without translation (Melik-Moudjir-Haithoum (Haithon) fils de Constantin, roi de Sis). See *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks, de l'Égypte écrite en Arabe par Taki-Eddin-Ahmed-Makrizi*, traduite en Français par M. Quatremère, t. 1.2, Paris, 1837, p. 84.

³⁷ The editor of *al-'Aynī*'s "*Iqd al-ğumān*" Muḥammad Amīn left a blank place between the words *al-malik* and *Haytūm* in the publication of the work. Obviously, the illegible word in the manuscript should be *al-muğīr*. See *al-'Aynī*, *Iqd-MMA*, vol. 1, p. 422.

³⁸ *Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir*, *al-Rawḍ*, p. 269.

reason to look for an Armenian background to this title. Quite probably, the envoys sent by Het'um to Baybars presented their king with these words and the chief secretary of the Sultan's chancery thought it necessary to record it as the component of his titulature or an alias. As shown by L. Ter-Petrossian, the Armenian medieval sources bestowed various honorary titles on Het'um, known for his devoutly religious way of life, and "the pious" was the most widespread of them. Hence, it's not surprising that Bar Hebraeus called him "pious" and "faithful king"³⁹.

That *muğir* attributed to Het'um was really considered an alias by Muslims is confirmed by Muslim chroniclers. Specifically al-Dahabī in his "History of Islam" presented "Het'um, son of Costandin" as "*al-kalb, al-malik al-muğir, Şāhib Sīs*" ("the dog, the protector king, the lord of Sis"). Obviously, *al-malik al-muğir* alongside the insult is perceived exclusively as a nickname and not an honorary title⁴⁰.

Returning to the title *t'agavor / takfur* we have to note that while speaking about Cilician Armenia the Muslim historians sometimes referred to the country by means of the royal title: *bilād takfur*⁴¹. We find some cases of this naming's use in the works of

³⁹ L. Ter-Petrossian, *Xaç'akirnera*, vol. II, p. 290; Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l-Faraj, The son of Aaron, The Hebrew Physician, The first part of his Political History of the World*, vol. I, trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge, Oxford University Press, London, 1932, reprinted by Gorgias Press, 2003, p. 446: This passage is missing in the Arabic version of the work.

⁴⁰ Al-Dahabī, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 49, pp. 297-298.

⁴¹ See Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Taṣrīf al-ayyām wa-l-'uṣūr fī sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. by Murād Kāmil, Cairo, 1961, p. 256; Al-'Umārī, *Masālik*, vol. 3, p. 197; al-Qalqaṣandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 4, p. 373 and vol. 5, p. 365; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 2.1, p. 229; idem, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, ed. by Muḥammad Ya'alāwī, vol. 2, Dār al-Ġarb al-Islāmī, 1991, p. 250; al-'Aynī, *Iqd-MMA*, vol. 3, p. 152. Besides the above-mentioned namings *bilād al-Durūb*, *bilād al-arman*, *bilād takfur* in Muslim historiography Cilician Armenia was also named *bilād*

the Persian historians, for instance, in Ḥamd-Allāh Qazwīnī's (d. 1349) geographical treatise "Nuzhat al-Qulūb" ("Entertainment of Hearts"): "*The Āṣī river (i.e. Orontes), penetrates into the land of Takfur and into Sis, that is Lesser Armenia (the same as Cilician Armenia), eventually flows into the Mediterranean sea*"⁴².

Sīs (see, for instance, Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 9, p. 10; Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb al-Muḥtaṣar fī aḥbār al-baṣar*, vol. 4, al-Maṭba'a al-Ḥusayniyya al-Miṣriyya, Cairo, 1907, p. 46, 139; Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāya*, vol. 18, pp. 10-11; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.3, p. 923) and *bilād Ibn Lāwūn* (e.g. in Ibn Ṣaddād, *al-Nawādir al-sultāniyya wa-l-maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya*, ed. by Ġamāl al-Dīn Ṣayyāl, Cairo, 1994, p. 98, 125; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubda*, pp. 447-448; Abū al-Šāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, p. 39; Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm*, p. 257; al-'Umārī, *Masālik*, vol. 27, p. 133; al-'Aynī, *Iqd-MRM*, vol. 3, p. 66, 223. Notably the Arab historians were not unfamiliar to the name *Cilicia*. Singular application of this toponym can be met in "*al-Rawḍ al-zāhir*" by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, the private secretary under Mamlūk sultans Baybars, Qalāwūn and Aṣraf Ḥalīl. There, before presenting the above-mentioned report regarding Mleh and the events of the Mamluk campaign of 1275, he makes a brief historical-geographical digression about Cilician Armenia. The next generation historians al-Nuwayrī, Ibn al-Dawādārī, the Coptic Mufaḍḍal, Ibn al-Furāt, et al., recorded this report of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir with some additions or abridgements. "*Ṭarsūs, Adana and their adjoining territories are named Cilicia* (Ibn al-Dawādārī adds: "in Armenian language" - *bi-l-lisan al-armanī*). *Msis* is the country of the physician named Hippocrates (*Abqarāt al-ḥakīm*) (text has *balad*, i.e. "place of birth" - G. D.), while some say *Homs*, but God knows best". In the original text of that work published by 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ḥuwaytīr the toponym is transliterated with a scribal error, as *Qīlīqā*. Meanwhile other authors correctly wrote *Qīlīqyā*. See Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ*, p. 439; Cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, vol. 30, p. 218; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 8, p. 179; Mufaḍḍal, *al-Nahḡ* (14), pp. 228-229 [392-393]; Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, pp. 25-26; Ibn al-Šihna, *al-Durr*, p. 180; as well as 'Izz al-Dīn ibn Ṣaddād, *Tārīḥ al-Malik al-Zāhir*, ed. by Aḥmad Ḥuṭayt (Die Geschichte des Sultans Baybars von 'Izz ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṣaddād (st. 684/1285)), Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1983, p. 109.

⁴² Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī, *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, Bumbāy, 1894, p.

Evident in non-official titles attributed to Armenian kings is the discriminative, even close to insulting attitude towards them. For example, the formulas such as *mutamallik al-arman*⁴³, *mutamallik Sīs*⁴⁴ and *ḥākim Sīs* (governor of Sis)⁴⁵ contain shades of manifest offence or at least emphasize inferiority since they question the legitimacy of the Armenian king's power. Perhaps, the same cannot be said about another title given to the Armenian king – *ṣāhib* (in the forms of *ṣāhib Sīs* “Lord of Sis” and *ṣāhib al-arman*

218. The English translator of the work misread *takfūr* as *Nikfūr* repeating the above-mentioned error. See The geographical part of the *Nuzhat-al-Qulūb* composed by Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn in 740 (1340) (E.J.W. Gibb memorial series, vol. XXIII), tr. by G. Le Strange, E.J. Brill, Leiden-London, 1919, p. 210. However, Ḥamd-Allāh Qazwīnī was not right thinking that the Orontes was passing through the territory of Cilician Armenia. Cf. **Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī**, *Muḡam al-buldān*, vol. 4, pp. 67-68, **Abū al-Fidā**, *Taqwīm al-buldān*, p. 49; **Al-Dimaṣqī**, *Nuḥbat al-dahr*, p. 107.

⁴³ See **Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir**, *al-Rawḍ*, p. 191, 196; **Baybars al-Manṣūrī**, *Zubdat al-fikra fī tāriḥ al-ḥiḡra*, ed. by Dunāld Rīṯšārdz, Beirut, 1998, p. 88; **al-Nuwayrī**, *Nihāya*, vol. 33, p. 46; **al-Umārī**, *Masālik*, vol. 3, p. 239.

⁴⁴ See **Baybars al-Manṣūrī**, *Muḥtār*, p. 106; **al-Nuwayrī**, *Nihāya*, vol. 33, p. 46; **al-Ġazarī**, *Ḥawādiṯ al-zamān wa-anbā’uḥu wa-wafayāt al-akābir wa-al-a’yān min abnā’ihī*, ed. by ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, vol. 2, al-Maktaba al-‘Aṣriyya, Beirut, 1998, p. 941; **al-Umārī**, *al-Ta’rīf*, p. 55 idem, *Masālik*, vol. 3, p. 238; **al-Qalqaṣandī**, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 5, p. 365; **al-Maqrīzī**, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 3.2, p. 471; **Ibn Taḡrī Birdī**, *al-Nuḡūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, vol. 8, ed. by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Šams al-Dīn, Dār al-Kutub al-‘ilmiyya, Beirut, 1992, p. 122.

⁴⁵ See **al-Maqrīzī**, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 3.2, p. 471. It is worth to specify that here by “*ḥākim Sīs*” **al-Maqrīzī** refers to the last dethroned king of Cilician Armenia Lewon V Lusignan (r. 1374-1375), who was imprisoned in Cairo for already seven years. The chronicler writes: “*In Ġumāda al-āḥir of the year 784 A.H. (11 august 1382-9 september 1382), a letter was received from Alfūns (Alfons), the ruler of Seville (mutamallik Aṣḡiliyya), asking to set Takfūr, the governor of Sis, at liberty, and it was answered*”.

–“Lord of Armenians”)⁴⁶, which is neutral, devoid of any negative subtext, and was attributed to Muslim rulers as well. The humiliating attitude of the Arab chroniclers is also evident in the mentions of Armenian monarchs without titles (particularly concerning the Rubenids) – simply **Ibn Lāwūn** (or **Ibn Līfūn** and / or **Ibn Lāyūn** – “Son of Levon”, “Levonid”)⁴⁷. All these titles were often used alongside the title *takfūr* (e.g. *al-takfūr mutamallik Sīs*, *al-takfūr malik al-arman*, *al-takfūr ṣāhib Sīs*, *al-takfūr ṣāhib al-arman*, *al-*

⁴⁶ See **Ibn al-Dawādārī**, *Kanz*, vol. 8, pp. 94-95; **Baybars al-Manṣūrī**, *Muḥtār*, p. 50; **al-Yūnīnī**, *Ḍayl Mirāt al-zamān*, vol. 2, Maṭba‘at Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uṭmāniyya, Ḥaydarābād, 1955, pp. 191-192; **Abū al-Fidā**, *al-Muḥtaṣar*, vol. 4, pp. 3-4, 54, 99; **al-Nuwayrī**, *Nihāya*, vol. 30, pp. 98-99; **al-Ġazarī**, *Ḥawādiṯ*, vol. 1, pp. 149-150; **al-Ḍahabī**, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 49, p. 6, 19; **Ibn al-Wardī**, *Tatimmat al-Muḥtaṣar fī aḥbār al-baṣār*, Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyya, Beirut, 1996, pp. 218-219; **Ibn Kaṭīr**, *al-Bidāya*, vol. 17, p. 467; **al-Maqrīzī**, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.1, p. 160.

⁴⁷ See **Ibn al-‘Adīm**, *Buḡyat al-ṭalab fī tāriḥ Ḥalab*, vol. 1, ed. by Suhayl Zakkār, Beirut, p. 175; **Abū al-Šāma**, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn*, vol. 5, pp. 79-80; **Ibn al-Furāt**, *al-Duwal*, vol. 5.1, p. 82; **al-Maqrīzī**, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1, p. 275; **al-‘Aynī**, *Iqd al-ḡumān*, vol. 2, p. 215. As the Arab chroniclers occasionally call the last prince of Cilicia (r. 1187-1198) and the founder of the Kingdom (r. 1198-1219), Lewon, by the name *Ibn Lāwūn*, it follows that by “*Lewon’s son*” they used to mean his grandfather, Lewon I, baron of Cilician Armenia. Moreover, the passage concerning Mleh, cited above, is titled “*On the conquest of Sīs and the gorges (ṭuḡūr) by Lewon’s house*” among the Arab historians. The fact that in some cases the historians call the prince Lewon II (the king Lewon I) by the name “*Lāfūn, son of Stepane, son of Layūn*” (*Lāfūn ibn Isṭifānat ibn Layūn*), also proves this. For example, see: **Ibn al-Aṭīr**, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 194; **al-Nuwayrī**, *Nihāyat al-arab*, vol. 28, p. 284 (cites **Ibn al-Aṭīr**); **Ibn Waṣīl**, *Mufarriḡ al-kurūb fī aḥbār banī ayyūb*, vol. 2, ed. by Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Šayyāl, Cairo, 1957, p. 319. See also **V. Ter-Levondyan**, *Kilikyan hayastani artak’in k’alak’akanut’yuna XII dari verjin* (“The external policy of Cilician Armenia at the end of the 12th century”), *HPJ*, 2010, № 1, p. 119, n. 13. Cf., **Sa’id ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ** ‘Aṣūr, *Buḥūt wa-dirāsāt*, p. 239.

takfūr Ibn Lāwūn, etc.).

The most respectful title used by the Muslim chroniclers for Armenian kings is *sulṭān*, but only several cases of its application can be found. This title, attributed mostly to Muslim rulers, is used once in the "Geographical Dictionary" by Yāqūt al-Ḥamāwī in the article on "Sīsiyya" (i.e. Sis): "*Wa-bi-hā maskan Ibn Lāyūn sulṭān tilkā al-nāhiyat al-armanī*" ("... and there [in Sis] is the residence of the Armenian sultan of that country Ibn Layun")⁴⁸. It seems we would be right to suppose that this mention of the geographer's mention is not merely informative; on the contrary, it hints of a title.

The Persian historians of the 13th-14th centuries are somewhat more "generous" in this respect and it is not surprising, as we are speaking of historians who were also high-ranking officials in the Mongol Ilkhanate. Therefore, their loyal stance towards the Armenian kingdom and Armenian kings may wholly fit into the logic of the Armenian-Mongol "alliance". Cases of Persian chroniclers' bestowing the title *sulṭān* on the Armenian king are found in the works of Ġuwaynī (d. 1283) and Ḥamd-Allāh Qazwīnī. In his versified chronicle, entitled "*Zafarnāma*" ("The Book of Victories"), the latter even called the Armenian monarch *sulṭān takfūr*. Here's the reference: "*When sulṭān takfūr joined the battle, the colour left the faces of the enemy. There was no escape for enemy heads from the arm of the battle-armed Ya'uldar.*"⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Yāqūt al-Ḥamāwī, *Muḡam al-buldān*, vol. 3, Beirut, 1977, pp. 297-298.

⁴⁹ This little known work by Ḥamd-Allāh Qazwīnī has survived in three manuscripts, only one of which has been studied and published in facsimile in two volumes (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Zafarnāmah*, vol. 1-2, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1999): See on it: Ch. Melville, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. XI, Fasc. 6, p. 633). The last chapter of the original dedicated to the Mongol history that is hitherto unpublished, has been translated to English by L. Ward in his doctoral dissertation. See L. J.

Much more interesting is Ġuwaynī's usage of the word in his "*Tārīḥ-e Ġāhān-Guṣā*" (The History of the World-Conqueror). Particularly, while describing the great *qurultai* (assembly) convened in Qara-Qorum and the guests arriving to the capital to attend the coronation ceremony of Guyūk Khan (1246-1248) and other events, he twice used the expression *sulṭān-e Tākavor*⁵⁰, i.e. the chronicler named the Armenian monarch not only *sultan* but used also *tākavor* in toponymic sense. Here the complication is caused by the fact that the king of Cilician Armenia Het'um could not have been present at the coronation of Guyūk since he undoubtedly only left for Qara-Qorum only in 1254. That was Smbat the Constable who left for Qara-Qorum in 1247 instead of the Armenian king and informed the Khan on behalf of Het'um about their "obeyance" and received a *yarlik* (edict, imperial decree). Could it be that the author of "*The History of the World-Conqueror*" meant Smbat when saying *sulṭān-e Tākavor*?

Quite recently, A.-Cl. Mutafian could hardly give a clear explanation concerning this phrase in his recent book "*L'Arménie du Levant (Xie-Xive siècle)*": "*The word Tagavor*", writes the scholar, "*synonymous to Armenian 'ark'a' (king) may be identified with Het'um, as mentioned by Bar Hebraeus*"⁵¹, suggesting finally that by saying "*Tagavor's sultan*" Ġuwaynī implied the Zakarid prince Avag, grounding his suggestion on the testimony of

Ward, *The Zafar-namah of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and the Il-Khān dynasty of Iran* (Ph.D. diss.), University of Manchester, 1983, vol. 3, p. 500 (Persian text - vol. 1, 698b).

⁵⁰ See 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā' Malik ibn Muḥammad Ġuwaynī, *Kitāb Tārīḥ-e Ġāhān-Guṣā*, ed. by Muḥammad Qazwīnī, vol. 1, Barīl, Laydan, 1919, p. 205, 212. In another passage the editor of the work, basing on two above applications of the term, considered *Diyār Bakr* of the original text a scribal error and corrected it to *Tākavor*: See *ibid.*, p. 205.

⁵¹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 411.

the Anonymous Georgian chronicler. “*The dates correspond*”, he continues, “*although Avag was not a king but the so called “prince of princes” in Greater Armenia, we should suppose that [Ġuwaynī] had just him in mind and just he was representing the Armenian authorities at Guyūk’s coronation ceremony.*”⁵² The fact that Avag really attended the Mongol Khan’s capital is indisputable – witnessed not only by the Georgian Chronicler but also by Kirakos Ganjakec’i⁵³. But this relates to Atabek Avag’s first visit to Great Khan Ögedei (r. 1229-1241) which took place supposedly sometime between 1240-1241. Armenian sources are silent concerning his second visit implied by Cl. Mutaſian, and the uncertainty and vagueness of the Georgian Chronicle’s account doesn’t give any ground to make a definite claim based on it. For according to the testimonies of Ġuwaynī, Rašīd al-Dīn and Plano Carpini, envoy of the Pope of Rome, the succession dispute between two Davids for the Georgian throne was resolved by Güyük Khan, whereas the Georgian Chronicler insists that Batu Khan sent both Davids to Mōngke Khan, and not to Guyūk, and that the reigning dispute was resolved by Qubilai Khan’s intercession “after many years”⁵⁴. The testimonies of the Georgian author show that the latter had a very vague idea of the events of that period. Anyway, in this confusion of facts the second visit of Atabek Avag mentioned by the

⁵² Cl. Mutaſian, *L’Arménie du Levant (XIe-XIVe siècle)*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 2012, p. 137; Cf. S. Der-Nersessian, Western iconographic themes in Armenian manuscripts, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, vol. 26, 1944, p. 87.

⁵³ Kirakos Ganjakec’i, *Patmut’iwn Hayoc’* (History of Armenia), ed. by A. Melik’-Ohanjanyan, Yerevan, 1961, pp. 262-267 (in Armenian).

⁵⁴ *Vrac’ žamanakagrutyun (1207-1318)* (Georgian chronicle), translation, introduction and annotations by Paruyr Muradyan, Yerevan, 1971, pp. 96-97 (in Armenian). Cf., Step’annos Orbēlean, *Patmut’iwn nahangin Sisakan* (History of the Province of Sisakan), ed. by K. Šahnazareanc’, vol. 1, Paris, 1859, p. 167 (in Armenian).

Georgian chronicler inspires little or no confidence in its trustworthiness.⁵⁵ Still if we believe his data we do not think that the atabek could be honored by the high title of *sultān*, which in the Muslim historiography was bestowed on Christian rulers in rare cases only.

The hypothesis suggested by Cl. Mutaſian for *Sultān-e Tākavor* is not alone in scholarly literature. This expression has caused controversies since the ‘30s of the past century. The first to discuss it in detail was Muḥammad Qazwīnī, the chief editor of Ġuwaynī’s Brill edition (1912-1936)⁵⁶. He provided, in our opinion, a rather convincing solution of the issue. Then J. A. Boyle in the English translation of Ġuwaynī’s work fully agreed with Qazwīnī’s opinion on *Sultān-e Tākavor*⁵⁷. Since the ‘80s of the past century, a number

⁵⁵ Before Mutaſian, A. Šahnazaryan had also remarked about Avag atabek’s second visit to Qara-Qorum (See A. Šahnazaryan, Hay-vrac’akan ev monlola-kan haraberutyunnera (1236-1240) (Armenian-Georgian and Mongolian relations (1236-1240)), *Lraber hasarakakan gitut’yunneri*, 2004, № 1, Yerevan, pp. 3-22). Besides the evidence of the Georgian historian, he considers it useful to bring the reports of the envoy of Pope Innocent IV, Ascelin, about a high-ranking official Angutha found in 1247 at the military camp of Baiju Noyan. The scholar supposes that it is about Avag, whose arrival from Qara-Qorum was awaited for impatiently at Baiju’s encampment. Šahnazaryan has used the incomplete Russian translation of the account of the mission (D.I. Jazykov, *Sobranie putešestvij k tataram i drugim vostočnym narodam*, S. Petersburg, 1825 (in Russian)). The examination of the report was fully produced by J. Richard (J. Richard, *Simon de Saint-Quentin: Histoire des Tartares*, Paris, 1965). For other views on the identification of Angutha, see P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté, *Revue de Orient*, Tome VIII (XXVIII), 1931-1932, p. 17 [155]; J. Richard, *Simon de Saint-Quentin*, p. 110; P. Jackson, Eljigidei, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. VIII, ed. Ehsan Yarshater, Mazda Publishers, Costa Mesa, 1998, pp. 366-367.

⁵⁶ Ġuwaynī, *Ġahān-Gušā*, vol. 3, pp. 484-490.

⁵⁷ J.A. Boyle, *The History of The World-Conqueror by ‘Ala-ad-Din ‘Ata-Malik Juvaini* (Ph.D.), tr. from the text of Mirza Muhammad Qazvini, vol. 1, Harvard

of Byzantinists circulated another interpretation of *Sultān-e Tākavor*. As a matter of fact it was first expressed in Bruce Lippard's Ph.D dissertation, in whose opinion the *Sultān-e Tākavor*, present at the coronation ceremony of Güyük khan, was none other than the Emperor of Trebizond, the Grand Komnenos Manuel I (r. 1238-1263)⁵⁸. A similar view was expressed by A. Bryer⁵⁹ in a separate article dedicated to that issue. Lately, J.S. Langdon, considering that hypothesis proven, concluded that *Sultān-e Tākavor* was simply some specific naming of the Trebizond Empire expressed through the title of its lord⁶⁰. Representatives of the Russian Byzantine studies R. Shukurov⁶¹ and D. Korobeinikov⁶² are also inclined to share this opinion.

Notably, Bar Hebraeus left two principal historical works, the Syriac "Chronicle" cited by Cl. Mutaftian, and an Arabic chronicle

University Press, 1958, p. 250, note 6.

⁵⁸ B. G. Lippard, *The Mongols and Byzantium* (Ph.D diss.), 1983, pp. 179-180.

⁵⁹ A. Bryers, *The Grand Komnenos and The Great Khan at Karakorum in 1246, Res Orientales*, 1994, vol. 4, pp. 257-261. This opinion is shared by French scholar M. Kursanskis. See: M. Kursanskis, *L'empire de Trébizonde et les Turcs au 13e siècle, Revue des études byzantines*, v. 46, 1988, p. 121, note 42. According to him Manuel I Komnenos began minting his own silver coinage mainly with the intention to pay tribute to the Mongol khan. See idem, *The Coinage of the Grand Komnenos Manuel I, Archeion Pontou*, t. 35, 1979, pp. 23-37.

⁶⁰ See J. S. Langdon, *Byzantium's initial encounter with the Chingissids: An introduction to Byzantino-Mongolica, Viator*, vol. 29, 1998, p. 120, n. 140.

⁶¹ R. Šukurov, *Velikiè Komniny*, p. 162; idem, *Trapezundskaja imperija i Vostok* (The Empire of Trebizond and the East), in S.P. Karpov, *Istorija Trapezundskoj imperii* (History of the Empire of Trebizond), Aletejja, S. Petersburg, 2007, p. 370 (in Russian).

⁶² D.A. Korobejnikov, *Mixail VIII Paleolog v Rumskom sultanate* (Michael VIII Palaiologos in the Sultanate of Rum), *Vizantijskij vremennik*, vol. 64 (89), ed. by I.S. Čičurov, Moscow, 2005, p. 87 (in Russian).

titled "*al-Muhtašar fī [tārīḥ] al-duwal*" (The Abridgement to the History of the Dynasties), which is based upon the first part of the Syriac Chronicle. The key source of the part concerning the history of the Mongols was undoubtedly his Persian contemporary's work "*The history of the World-Conqueror*", about which Bar Hebraeus tells us himself⁶³. The comparison of the corresponding passages of Bar Hebraeus's and Ğuwaynī's works clearly shows that they were speaking about Smbat Sparapet, whom Ğuwaynī confused with the Armenian king.

Ğuwaynī	Bar Hebraeus
a. "From Rūm came sultān Rukn al-Dīn and [came] the Sultān of Tākavor; from Georgia, two Davids; from Aleppo, the brother of the lord of Aleppo..." ⁶⁴	b. "And from Rūm [came] sultān Rukn al-Dīn, and from the Armenians the Gundstable, Takfūr Het'um's brother came, and from Georgia the senior and the junior Davids came, and from Šām the brother of the lord of Aleppo ..." ⁶⁵
a. "And <i>yarlıgs</i> were given to the sultāns of Tākavor and Aleppo and to the envoys..." ⁶⁶	b. "And he wrote <i>yarlıgs</i> (<i>yarālīg</i>) and certificates for Takfūr and the lord of Aleppo al-Malik al-Nāšir" ⁶⁷ .

Moreover, the Syrian historian's use of the word *gundstable* dispels all doubt about his reference. Judging by the authenticity of information on the Armenian Kingdom provided by Bar Hebraeus we have weighty grounds to trust him. Furthermore, we know that

⁶³ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 473.

⁶⁴ See Ğuwaynī, *Ğahān-Gušā*, vol. 1, p. 205.

⁶⁵ Ibn al-'Ibrī, *Tārīḥ muhtašar al-duwal*, 2nd ed., ed. by Anṭūn Šālīḥānī al-Yasū'ī, Dār al-Rā'id al-Lubnānī, Beirut, 1994, p. 448.

⁶⁶ Ğuwaynī, *Ğahān-Gušā*, vol. 1, p. 212.

⁶⁷ See Ibn al-'Ibrī, *Muhtašar*, p. 540. See also Muḥammad Qazwīnī's comparative study. See Ğuwaynī, *Ğahān-Gušā*, vol. 3, pp. 484-485.

he had been personally acquainted with Armenian king Het'um and, as he wrote in his "History of Dynasties", had numerous chances to talk with him⁶⁸.

Surprisingly enough Smbat himself was extremely laconic in his "Chronicle" while speaking about that visit⁶⁹. A letter sent by Smbat to the king of Cyprus Henry I Lusignan (r. 1218-1253) dated Feb. 7, [1247] when he was in Samarkand, on the way to Qara-Qorum, contains much more useful information concerning his mission⁷⁰. It means, as Cl. Mutaſian estimated, Smbat reached Qara-Qorum presumably at the end of 1247 (or at least at the beginning of 1248)⁷¹. Therefore, he could not have attended the ceremony of Gŷyŷk's coronation. However, it should be noted that in the opinion of the Mongol scholar D. Bayarsaykhan, he arrived at the Khan's court after the coronation ceremony, when the Papal envoy Plano Carpini and other delegations from Georgia, the Sultanate of Rŷm, Alamŷt, Œirvān and Lŷr were still in Qara-Qorum continuing negotiations with the Mongol authorities⁷². This

⁶⁸ **Ibn al-Ibrī**, *Muhtaſar*, p. 460. Although A. Galstyan was unaware of this controversial expression in "The History of the World-Conqueror", he knew about Bar Hebraeus's report on diplomatic visit of Smbat the Constable from the Latin translation of his work. See **A. Galstyan**, Hay-monŷolakan araŷin banakc'ut'yunnera (The First Armenio-Mongol Negotiations), *HPJ*, 1964, № 1, p. 103. The article was published also in English translation by R. Bedrossian. See **A. G. Galstyan**, The first Armenio-Mongol Negotiations, *Armenian Review*, v. 29, 1976, p. 33.

⁶⁹ See *Smbatay Sparapeti Taregirk'* (The Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet), ed. by Father Serovbē Agŷlean, Venice, 1956, p. 228 and idem, *Taregirk'*, ed. and annot. by Karapet Œahnazarean', Paris, 1859, p. 124.

⁷⁰ See **Richard J.**, La lettre du Connŷtable Smbat et les rapports entre chrŷtiens et Mongols au Milieu du XIII^{ŷme} siŷcle, in *Armenian studies in memoriam Haŷg Berbŷrian*, Lisbon, 1986, pp. 683-696.

⁷¹ **Mutaſian**, *L'Armenie du Levant*, p. 138.

⁷² **D. Bayarsaikhan**, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220-1335)*, Brill,

could well explain the historiographers' confusion⁷³.

Thus, the expression "sultan of Tagavor" seems to be a mistake on the part of the Persian historian, corrected shortly thereafter by Bar Hebraeus in his *"Abridgement to the History of the Dynasties"*. This assumption may be corroborated by Œuwaynī's mentioning, among others guests arriving at Qara-Qorum, "the sultān of Erzurum" (Sultān-e Arz-e Rŷm)⁷⁴ – which had been conquered (in 1201) and included into the Seljuq Sultanate for a few decades (in 1230)⁷⁵. The hypothesis concerning Manuel I is similarly unconvincing and completely based on assumptions. W. Rubruk's evidence that during Mŷngke khan's reign the Emperor of Trebizond was subject to the Mongols and thus a tributary to them⁷⁶, is not sufficient to identify the emperor Manuel Komnenos with "sultān-e Tākavor" (furthermore, in the form of tākavor and not

Leiden, 2011, p. 83 and idem, Submissions to the Mongol Empire by the Armenians, *Mongolian & Tibetan Quarterly*, v. 18.3, 2009, p. 88. Compare with the evidence of **Kirakos Ganjakec'i**, according to whom Smbat returned from Qara-Qorum with Rukn al-Dīn, son of the sultan of Iconium, Kay-Khusraw II (r. 1237-1246). See **Kirakos Ganjakec'i**, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, pp. 317-318.

⁷³ This expression of Œuwaynī, perhaps bewildered also another state historian of the Mongol Ilkhanate, RaŒid al-dīn (d. 1318). One of the key sources of his *"Œāmi' al-Tawārīḥ"* was *"Tārīḥ-e Œāhān-GuŒā"* where "sultān of Tākavor" was omitted from the list of the guests who were present at Gŷyŷk's coronation ceremony. See *The Successors of Genghis khan*, trans. from the Persian of **RaŒid al-Dīn** by J. A. Boyle, Columbia University Press, New York-London, 1971, pp. 181, 183-184 and **RaŒid-ad-Dīn**, *Sbornik letopisej* (Compendium of Chronicles), vol II, per. Ju.P. Verxovskogo, Moscow-Leningrad, 1960, p. 118, 120 (in Russian).

⁷⁴ **Œuwaynī**, *Œāhān-GuŒā*, vol. 1, p. 305, 312.

⁷⁵ See **Boyle**, *The History of The World-Conqueror*, p. 250, note 10.

⁷⁶ *PuteŒestvija v vostoŒnye strany Plano Karpini i Rubruka* (Travels of Plano Carpini and Rubruk to the Eastern Countries), Moscow, 1957, p. 89, 223, note 21, 22 (in Russian).

takfūr) mentioned by Ġuwaynī⁷⁷.

The next historical work that presents special interest for the study of the title *t'agavor* is Ibn Bībī's (Ibn Bībī al-Munaġġima, d. 1285) "*Salġuqnāmah*" or "*Al-Awāmīr al-'alā'iyya fī-l-umūr al-'alā'iyya*"⁷⁸ which deals with the Seljuq rulers of Iconium during the period of 1192-1280. Notably, the author wrote his work on the instruction of the Ġuwaynī whom he praised at the very beginning of his book. In his work Ibn Bībī used the title *takfūr/ takwar* not only in respect to the Armenian king (e.g. Lewon I - Līfūn Takfūr)⁷⁹ but also of the rulers of other Christian states neighboring the Seljuq state, like, for instance the founder of the Empire of Trebizond Alexius I Grand Komnenos (r. 1204-1222)⁸⁰.

⁷⁷ See Bryers, *The Grand Komnenos*, p. 260.

⁷⁸ Ibn Bībī's chronology has reached us in two versions, one of which is a complete and the other an abridgment (*Muhtaşar*). Ter-Połosyan separated and translated into Armenian the parts concerning the Armenians (H. Tēr-Polosean, Hayastan Ibn Bibii hamemat (Armenia according to Ibn Bibi), *Handēs Am-sōreay*, 1960, № 4-6, 10-12, 162-177, № 10-12, 482-492) from the German translation of the brief version (W. H. Duda, *Die Selttschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī Munksgaard*, Kopenhagen, 1959). We didn't have the complete version of the work at hand (Ibn-i Bībī, *El-Evāmīrū'l-Alā'iyye fī'l-umūri'l-Alā'iyye*, ed. by A. S. Erzi, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1956-1957) and only "*Muhtaşar*" was available for us in Houtsma's edition (Recueil de Textes Relatifs à L'Histoire Des Seldjoudes par M. Th. Houtsma, vol. IV, *Histoire des Seldjoudes d'Asie Mineure d'après l'abrégé du Seldjournāme d'Ibn Bībī*, E. J. Brill, Leide, 1902).

⁷⁹ For example, *ibid.*, p. 40.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54; Tēr-Polosean, *Hayastan*, pp. 162-163, n. 2. Another application of expression *malik al-arman takfūr* is found in the work "*Musāmarat al-aḥbār wa-musāyarat al-aḥyār*" (Conversation of reports and conformity of benefits) by another historian of the Seljuq sultanate al-Aqsarāyī (d. between 1323-1327). See Kerimuddin Mahmud Aksarayı, *Mūsāmeret ül-ahbār, Moğollar zamanında Türkiye selçukluları tarihi*, ed. and annot. by O. Turan, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1944, p. 311.

The Armenian monarch was also called *takfūr* by the highest authority among the Ilkhanid historians Rašīd al-Dīn in his compendium of chronicles "*Ġāmi' al-tawārīḥ*". In his "*History of Franks*" (*Tārīḥ-e afrang*) the author wrote: "*On account of the fact that the inhabitants of this country are Christians, Muslim troops of Egypt and Syria constantly attack the country of the Armenians. Takfūr, who is the king of Lesser Armenia, departs from the country and leaves for the sea aboard a ship....*"⁸¹ In another part of Rašīd al-Dīn's history called "*Tārīḥ-e Oġūz*", which is the semi-legendary narrative of the life, conquests and descendants of Oġūz, the ancestor of the Oġūz tribes, the term *takfūr* (*tekūr*, *takfūr-ḥān*), in all likelihood, is used several times to denote Armenian rulers of Cilicia. Here is one of those references: "*Then he separated one hundred men from each unit of thousand soldiers of his army and sent them with his six sons to Takfūr-ḥān whom we nowadays call Takfūr.*"⁸²

⁸¹ H. P'ap'azyan studied the historico-geographical information about Cilician Armenia in this work of Rašīd al-Dīn and translated the corresponding passage into Armenian (H. P'ap'azyan, Rašīd-ēd-Dīn Kilikyan Hayastani masin (Rašīd al-Dīn on Cilician Armenia), *HPJ*, 1978, № 2, pp. 129-139). Papazyan used Karl Jahn's edition of the work (K. Jahn, *Die Frankengeschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 1977, S. 44, 45, Tafel 42, as well as *Tārīḥ-e Afrang, Pāpān wa-Qayāsera*, ed. by Moḥammad Rowšan, Mīrāt Maktūb, Tehran, 2005, vol. 1, pp. 41-42). Another reference to the expression "*takfūr Sīs*" worth of mention is found in Begum-Ḥātūn's (the wife of Qara-Qoyunlu Ġahān Šāh) edict addressed to Catholicos Hovhannes (John) of Ganjasar in 1462: "*Since the ancient times and according to the notes of the takfūr of Sīs, the leadership and rule of all the places of Atvank' belong to Catholicos Matt'eos*". See H. P'ap'azyan, *Matenadarani parskeren vaveragrera, I (Hrovertakner)*, Yerevan, 1956, p. 45, 248.

⁸² K. Jahn, in his German translation of "*History of the Oguzes*" arrived to the same conclusion. See K. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Oguzen des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, Wien, 1969, p. 31, n. 6, also pp. 32-34. Opposite to it, an Azerbaijani scholar R.

Another historian of the Mongol Ilkhanate, Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh Kāšānī (or al-Qāšānī, d. 1337/1338) also uses the term *takfūr* (spells *taqfūr* a few times) to refer to the Armenian king of Cilicia in his chronicle of Olğāytū's reign. He tells us about the vicious murder of the young Armenian king Lewon III (r. 1306-1307) and his uncle the regent Het'um (r. 1289-1307 with interruptions) by a Mongol commander named Būlārgū (Būlārgī), who had treacherously summoned them with a number of Armenian nobles in their entourage to his encampment near Anawarza (Anazarbus/'Ayn Zarba). He writes: "*As a winter station of his military forces he [Būlārgū] chose the land of Takfūr, Sīs and Ayās that are part of Syrian and Egyptian tuğūr*"⁸³. Then describing the scene of the assassination, the Persian author states that when Takfūr together with his grandson the junior Takfūr ("*Takfūr-e kahīn*" by which Lewon III is evidently meant) and their thirty servants were already at the court, the Mongol chief, feigning that he was going to pray, "*unsheathed his sharp sword and proclaiming takbīr (i.e. "Allāh akbar"- God is [the] greatest) in a loud voice, cut off Takfūr's head by a single stroke. As soon as his (Būlārgū's) servants heard the proclamation of takbīr, they put his (Het'um's) attendants to death and the junior Takfūr was killed too.*"⁸⁴

Historical works certainly are not the only source for studying the title *t'agavor/takfūr* since data provided by numismatics

Shukjurova, albeit without any evidence or argument, insisted that implied under the term *takfūr* "*are evidently the Byzantine emperors*". See Fazlallāh Rašīd ad-Dīn, *Oguz-name*, tr. by R.M. Šukjurovoj, Baku, Elm, 1987, p. 44 and also Rašīd al-Dīn, *Tārīḥ-e oğuz*, ed. by Moḥammad Rowšān, Tehran, 2005, p. 27 and also pp. 28-34.

⁸³ Al-Qāšānī, *Tārīḥ-e Olğāytū*, ed. by Mahīn Hambli, Tehran, 2005, p. 77.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 80. See the detailed discussion of these events in: A. Stewart, The Assassination of King Het'um II: The conversion of the Ilḥāns and the Armenians, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 15.1, 2005, pp. 45-61.

are of no lesser interest. We have already mentioned about Armeno-Seljuq bilingual coins and their influence on the spreading of this title among the Seljuqs. The thing is, that in the Mamluk territory the money of the neighboring countries – among them the silver coins of Cilician Armenia – was in circulation together with Mamluk silver dirhams. Those coins, that used to be called "*t'agvorin*" among Armenians, are called *takfūriyya* (i.e. royal) in Arabic historiography. It is remarkable that in the times of silver shortage in the Middle East, silver coins continued to be the main currency of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. The Mamluk authorities filled the gap of the lack of silver coins through the taxes and tributes from the subject countries⁸⁵. Thus, the Armenian *t'agvorins* appeared also in the treasury of Bahrī Mamlūks and were later released into circulation due to large annual tributes paid by the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. "*Silver was silver, after all, regardless of country of origin*", remarks W. Schultz in this respect⁸⁶. In Z. Bedoukian's opinion, the Armenian kingdom probably exploited silver mines in the Taurus Mountains, but, unfortunately, we cannot prove this by facts. However, he didn't deny the idea that a great part of silver reserves came to Cilicia from the West in the form of taxes and customs of the goods passing through its ports"⁸⁷.

Available numismatic material suggests that the Armenian *takfūriyya* was circulated not only directly without any alteration, but also after being restruck or overstruck with Mamluk inscriptions. Moreover, the overstriking of *t'agvorin* coins was not always

⁸⁵ For other explanations of the shortage of the Mamluk silver resources see: W. Schultz, The circulation of dirhams in the Bahri period, in: *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian politics and society*, ed. by M. Winter and A. Levanoni, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2004, pp. 242-244.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 241.

⁸⁷ P.Z. Bedoukian, Some Armenian coins overstruck in Arabic, in: *Armeniaca*, Saint Lazare, Venice, 1969, p. 147.

done carefully and consistently. A number of overstruck coins with still-legible Armenian inscriptions on one side prove it⁸⁸. On these Armenian coins, “highly inflated because of war tributes”⁸⁹, there is also some data in Venetian sources of that period. The Italian merchants called these Armenian silver coins “*taccolino*” in their trade contracts⁹⁰, which is the distorted form of *t’agvorin* and the equivalent to the Arabic *takfūriyya*.

As far as we know, the only case of usage of the term *takfūriyya* is by an Arab historian *Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir* (d. 1292). Speaking about the results of the sultan’s military campaign to Cilicia and about the annual tribute to be paid by the Armenian Kingdom to the Mamluk sultanate, he cited the full text of the Armenian-Mamluk treaty, including a passage that is of special interest to us. “*King Lewon, king Het’um’s son, undertakes to our lord ṣulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr...after signing this truce and up to its expiration to pay each year the tribute fixed for him, his subjects and the country. And the annual tribute that is to be paid in advance in the first year, comprises 500.000 dirhams (payable) in silver takfūriyya-dahekans (al-ṭalaḡam al-takfūriyya), calculated by weight, the half of which comprises 250.000 dirhams, as well as*

⁸⁸ P. Balog, *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt & Syria*, New York (The American Numismatic Society), 1964, pp. 146–47; Bedoukian, *Some Armenian coins*, p. 147. Notably, the *t’agvorin* coins were smaller in diameter (see Schultz, *The circulation of dirhams*, p. 241), than the Mamluk dirhams – a fact that prevented full overstriking of the Armenian silver coins in the Mamluk mint-houses. See E. Nersēsean, *Kilikian hayastani araberēnov krknadrošmuac dramnera* (Cilician Armenian coins overstruck in Arabic), *Haykazean hayagitakan handēs*, № 20, Beirut, 2000, p. 161 (in Armenian).

⁸⁹ Characterization by Y. Nersesyan: See *ibid.*, p. 158.

⁹⁰ For the Venetian documents representing interest in respect of the Armenian coinage see: A. Stahl, *Italian sources for the Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, *Armenian Numismatic Journal*, vol. 15, 1989, pp. 59–66.

fine horses and mules....”⁹¹

This certainly underscores the importance of the Armenian kings’ title *t’agavor/takfūr* in international relations of the 13th–14th centuries. After the fall of the kingdom and especially after the death of the last Armenian king of Cilicia, Lewon V in France in 1393, and when the last hopes of restoring the kingdom with the help of Western European countries vanished, the title *t’agavor/takfūr* ceased to be the main symbol of monarchical power and statehood in the Armenian environment once and forever. From then on the title of “The king of the Armenians” was included in the titulature of the kings of Cyprus by “hereditary right” and was

⁹¹ See *Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, Taṣrīf al-ayyām wa-l-’uṣūr fī sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. by Murād Kāmil, Cairo, 1961, pp. 98–99. The text of the treaty together with its French translation was first published by E.-M. Quatremere (*Histoire des Sultans Mamelouks de l’Egypte, écrite en arabe par Taki-Eldin-Ahmed Makrizi*, tome 2.1, Paris, 1845, 166–171, pp. 201–212), later by V. Langlois (*Le trésor des chartes d’Arménie ou Cartulaire de la chancellerie royale des Roupénides*, Venise, 1863, pp. 217–231) and M. Canard (*Le royaume d’Arménie-Cilicie et les Mamelouks jusqu’au traité de 1285*, *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, № 4, 1967, pp. 217–259). The text of the truce was also translated into Armenian by Bakuran (Dašnagir əndmej Lewon G T’agavori ev Egiptosi Mēmluk ean sult an Galauni, knk’uac 1285 mayis 7in (Peace treaty between king Levon III and the Mamluk sultan of Egypt Galaun concluded on the 7th of May, 1285), *Banaser*, 1902, № 3, pp. 69–79) from Quatremere’s French translation. See the English translation in: Scott R. J., *Mamlūk-Armenian relations during the Bahrī period to the fall of Sīs (1250–1375)*, McGill University, Montreal, 1981 (unpublished MA thesis), pp. 184–196 and P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290). Treaties of Baybars & Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers*, E. J. Brill, 1995, pp. 92–103. Thus, it should be added that up to now any Armenian coin overstruck in Arabic minted by Lewon III has not been discovered. So, Nersēsean assumed that the Mamlūks probably melted down those coins with Armenian inscriptions and minted their own dirhams. There is a misprint in the pagination of the article: it should be pp. 155–156.

imprinted on the coins minted by them⁹². After the collapse of the Kingdom of Cyprus the title passed to the dukes of Savoy, then to the kings of Piedmont and Italy⁹³. However, the title *t'agavor/takfūr* still preserved its value in international political and diplomatic relations of the region for another century or two (14th-15th centuries). It continued to be attributed to the Greek emperors of Constantinople and Trebizond as well as to small byzantine lords/governors in Asia Minor and Thrace⁹⁴.

Thus, summing up the main results and the outcome of studying the issues included in this research, we should state the specific importance of the title *t'agavor/takfūr*. It gives a clear picture of and understanding of the subtleties of the political-diplomatic relations between the Christian and Muslim states of the Eastern Mediterranean region – particularly between the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and the neighboring Muslim states.

CHAPTER 3

THE CALIPH OF THE ARMENIANS

⁹² See Melik S. Dawit'-Bēk, *Lusineank*, Mxit'arean tparan, Vienna, 1900, pp. 20-22; K.Y. Basmajean, *Lewon E Lusinean. Verjīn t'agavor Hayoc'*, Paris, 1908, p. 163; Ter-Petrossian, *Xač' akirnerə*, vol. 2, p. 465.

⁹³ Cl. Moutafian, *Le Royaume Arménien de Cilicie, XIIIe-XIVe siècle*, CNRS Editions, Paris, 1993, p. 90, see also *ibid.*, *L'Arménie du Levant*, pp. 394-395; Ter-Petrossian, *Xač' akirnerə*, vol. 2, p. 465; R.H. Hewsén, *Armenia Maritima: the historical geography of Cilicia*, in: *Armenian Cilicia*, ed. by R.G. Hovhannisian and S. Payaslian, Mazda Publishers, Costa Mesa, 2008, p. 43.

⁹⁴ See Savvides, *On the origins*, pp. 457-461.

ARABIC SOURCES ON THE HISTORY OF THE ARMENIAN CATHOLICOSATE OF HĠROMKLA

Throughout the entire Christian period of Armenian history spiritual leaders had been in strong contact with lay authorities. Besides caring for the spiritual and religious needs and the Christian education of the Armenian people, the Church had a very important role to play in the sustenance of the national identity and cultural outlook. The role of the Church was even more conspicuous in the absence of statehood, when it had to ensure the consolidation, social and economic structures and political interests of the Armenian world.

By force of historical circumstances, seats of Armenian catholicoi, like Armenian political centers (i.e. capitals), had often been moved from one place to another. Up to the collapse of the Bagratid state (1045) residences of the Armenian catholicoi were located in the territory of Greater Armenia (Vałaršapat, Dvin, Alt'amar, Argina, Ani). After the fall of the Kingdom, the Armenian catholicoi were compelled to give preference, while choosing a place for a religious center, to provinces close to Cilicia and Northern Syria, Cappadocia and Euphratensis. As a result of displacements and immigration, increasing the increasing Armenian population had created there small but gradually strengthened and expanding principalities that could ensure favorable conditions for the spiritual authorities' regular activities. Thus already in 1066 Catholicos Grigor (Gregory) II Vkasaser (Martyrophile, 1066-1105) moved his residence to the fortress of Camndav in the Cappadocian domains of Gagik-Abas II of Kars¹. Presumably in

¹ Ormanean M., *Azgapatum: Hay ullap'ar yekelec'voy anc'k'erā skizbēn minč'ev mer orerā yarakic' azgayin paraganerov patmuac* (History of the [Ar-

1105, following the invitation of another Armenian prince Goł Vasil (Vasil the Robber), Gregory II transferred the catholicossal see to Šulr – to Karmir Vank' (Red Monastery) of the Black Mountain, near K'esun². His successor Catholicos Barseł (Basil) of Ani (1105-1113) after a desperate attempt to establish the throne of St. Gregory the Illuminator in Ani was soon compelled to find refuge "among the mountains called Šulr."³ In 1116, Catholicos Gregory

menian] Nation: Passages of the Armenian Orthodox Church from the beginning to our times narrated in the context of the national circumstances), vol. 1, Constantinople, 1912, columns 1277-1278 (in Armenian).

² According to Michael the Syrian "Goł Basil (Vasil), Basil Tla and the wife of Goł Basil, who was the wet nurse of Basil Tla and not his mother, settled in Keshum (K'esun), Raban and mount Zubar. He had a guardian named Kurtig – a cruel man who hated the Syrians. He exerted pressure on the wife of Goł Basil and usurped the Red Monastery (Karmir Vank') located near Keshum which belonged to our Syrian nation for generations. Expelling the Syrian clergymen, she gave that monastery with five other monasteries of Bet Kenaya situated on mount Zubar with numerous monks there to Catholicos Grigoris (Grigor) and the Armenian monks." See: *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, ed. et trad. en français par J.-B. Chabot, t. 3, Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1905, p. 199; also *The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (The Great): A Universal history from the Creation*, eng. trans. and introduction by Matti Moosa (hereinafter - *The Syriac Chronicle*), Beth Antioch Press, 2014, p. 628. Cf. Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l-Faraj, The son of Aaron, The Hebrew Physician, The first part of his Political History of the World*, vol. I, trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge, Oxford University Press, London, 1932, reprinted by Gorgias Press, 2003, p. 246. See also Každan A. P., *Armyane v sostave gosподstvujščego klassa Vizantijskoj Imperii* (The Armenians in the ruling elite of the Byzantine Empire), Yerevan, 1975, p. 17 (in Russian) and Dédéyan G., *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, musulmans et croisés: étude sur les pouvoirs arméniens dans le Proche-Orient méditerranéen (1068-1150)*, v. 2: *De l'Euphrate au Nil: Le réseau diasporique*, Lisbonne, 2003, pp. 1067-1069.

³ Nersesi Šnorhalwoy Bank č'apaw (Versified words) Venice, 1830, p. 550 (in Armenian).

III Pahlavuni (1113-1166) chose as the site of the catholicosate the castle of Covk' in Tluk' province (until 1150). In 1150, the same Gregory III moved his seat to Hromkla ("Roman Castle" or "Greek Castle"), which became the constant residence of Armenian patriarchs for about a century and a half until it was captured by Mamluks in 1292. Describing the wanderings of the Armenian patriarchs Vardan Arewelc'i (Vardan the Easterner) wrote in his "Historical Compilation": "At that time the Armenian See wandered to numerous places and after moving to Karmir Vank' and to Šulr, and to Covk', it stopped in the castle named Hromkla after a Greek hieromonk who settled there...."⁴ It was a residence of ten patriarchs: Gregory III Pahlavuni, Nerses IV of Kla or Nerses Šnorhali (the Gracious - 1166-1173), Gregory IV Tla (1173-1193), Gregory V K'aravež (1193-1194), Gregory VI Apirat (1194-1203), John VI of Sis (1203-1221), Constantine I of Barjrbard (1221-1267), Jacob I of Kla (1268-1286), Constantine II of Katuk (1286-1289) and Stephen IV of Hromkla (1290-1293).

Hromkla (mentioned in Armenian sources as Hromklay, Hromklay, also Hrom-K'ar, Klayn Hromēakan, Klayn Hromakan, Rōmeliosi klay or simply Klay, in Latin Ranculat, Qal'at al-Rūm in Arabic, Qal'āh Rōmāitā or Hesna de Rōmāyē in Syriac sources, Rumkale in Turkish)⁵ was an impregnable fortress on the right bank of the Euphrates, at its confluence with the Merzimān (or Marzubān) river. The fortress, situated on a cliff-top, washed on

⁴ *Hawak'umn patmutean Vardanay Vardapeti* (Historical compilation of Vardan Vardapet), ed. by L. Ališan, Venice, 1862, pp. 127-128 (in Armenian).

⁵ The 14-15th century German traveler *Johannes Schiltberger* called the fortress *Urumkula*. See: *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger aus München in Europa, Asia und Afrika von 1394 bis 1427*, Hrsg. Karl Friedrich Neumann, München, 1859, S. 74, as well as: *The bondage and travels of Johann Schiltberger, a native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396-1427*, tr. and ed. by K. F. Neumann and J. B. Telfer, Hakluyt Society, London, 1879, p. 22.

three sides by the waters of the Euphrates and the Merziman. It was surrounded by walls with towered gates⁶.

Speaking about that fortress the medieval historians always stressed that it was invincible. The Armenian chroniclers always qualified the residence of the Armenian pontiffs with the epythets

⁶ On the geographical location and topography of the fortress see: *Inčičean L., Ašxarhagrut' iwn č'oric' masanc' ašxarhi*, vol. 1, part 1 (Asia) (The Geography of the Four Parts of the World: Asia), Venice, 1806, pp. 339-341 (in Armenian); *Ališan L., Šnorhali ew paragay iwr* (Shnorhali and his times), St. Lazarus, Venice, 1873, pp. 226-232 (in Armenian); *Rey E., Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XII^{me} et XIII^{me} siècles*, Paris, 1883, p. 318-320; [Gulamiryan A.], *Kilikia, P'orj ašxarhagrut'ean ardi Kilikiy (Cilicia: Geographical essay on modern Cilicia)*, St. Petersburg, 1894, pp. 372-378; *Kyuleseryan B., Covk'-Tluk'-Hrom-Klay: Patmakan ew telagrakan usumnasirutiwn (Covk'-Tluk'-Hrom-Klay. A historical and topographical study)*, Vienna, 1904, pp. 61-86; *Lawrence T. E., Oriental Assembly*, Williams and Norgate, London, 1947, pp. 28-37; *Hellenkemper H., Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit in der Grafschaft Edessa und im Königreich Kleinarmenien (Geographica Historica)*, Band 1, Rudolf Habelt Verlag, Bonn, 1976, S. 51-61; *Sinclair T. A., Eastern Turkey: an Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, vol. IV, Pindar Press, London, 1990, pp. 166-172; *Honigmann E.-[Bosworth C. E.], Rūm Qalesi, Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New Edition, hereinafter EI²), vol. 8 (NED-SAM), E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1995, pp. 606-607; *Raphael K., Muslim Fortresses in the Levant: Between Crusaders and Mongols*, Routledge, London & New York, 2011, pp. 185-193, as well as *H. Nalbandyan, Arabakan albyurnerā Hayastani ev harevan erkrneri masin: Yakut al-Hamawi, Abul-Fida, Ibn Shaddad*, Yerevan, 1965, pp. 191-192 (in Armenian); *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. by Boase T. S. R., Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh & London, 1978, pp. 166-167; *Stewart A., Qal'at al-Rūm/Hromgla/Rumkale and the Mamluk Siege of 691 AH/1292 CE*, in: *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria*, ed. by H. Kennedy, Brill, Leiden, 2006, pp. 273-275; *Mutafian Cl., L'Arménie du Levant (XIe-XIVe siècle)*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 2012, pp. 604-606.

“unassailable”⁷, “impregnable”⁸, “strongly built”⁹, “forbidding”¹⁰, “unconquerable”¹¹ and “invincible”¹². The “forbiddingness” of the castle was emphasized also by Arab and Persian historians and geographers. For instance, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 1229) in his geographic dictionary *“Mu‘ḡam al-buldān”* wrote: “Hrōmkla (Qal‘at al-Rūm) is a strong fortress on the western side of the Euphrates – just in front of al-Bīra, between it and Samosata (Sumaysat)”¹³. The same author in his other dictionary of geographical homophones repeated: “Hrōmkla is situated on the Euphrates, near al-Bīra and Samosata, and is very impregnable (*ḡaṣīna ḡiddan*).”¹⁴

Abū al-Fidā’ (d. 1331) in his *“Taqwīm al-buldān”* characterized the fortress as follows: “Hrōmkla has suburbs, orchards and fruits (fruit trees) as well as a river named Marzubān that flows down the cliff under the walls of Hrōmkla into the Euphrates. The Euphrates passes at the foot of the castle. It is forbidding, one of the strongest among fortresses. It was seized from Armenians by

⁷ See, for instance, *Hayeren jeḡageri hiṣatakaranner* (Colophones of Armenian manuscripts, hereinafter “HJH”), XIII c., ed. by A.S. Mat’evosyan, Yerevan, 1984, p. 175, 284, 676, 688, 731 (in Armenian); *Girk’ T’it’oc’* (The Book of Letters), Tiflis, 1901, p. 530 (in Armenian); Nerses Šnorhali, *Bank č’apaw*, p. 224.

⁸ See, for instance, *HJH*, XIII c., p. 190, 250; Hovsep’yanc’ G., *Yiṣatakarank’ jeḡagrac’* (Colophones of the Manuscripts), Antelias, 1951, column 428 (in Armenian).

⁹ See for instance *ibid*, p. 240, as well as *HJH*, XII c., p. 272.

¹⁰ See, for instance, *HJH*, XIII c., p. 242.

¹¹ Nerses Šnorhali, *Bank č’apaw*, p. 225.

¹² *Patmut’iwn nahangin Sisakan arareal Step’annosi Orbēlean ark’yepiskoposi Siwneac’* (History of the Province of Sisakan), ed. and annot. by K.V., Šahnazarcanc’, vol. 2, Paris, 1859, p. 190 (in Armenian).

¹³ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘ḡam al-buldān*, vol. 4, Dār Šādir, Beirut, 1977, p. 390.

¹⁴ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Kitāb al-Muštariq waḡ’an wa-muštariq šaq’an*, ‘Ālam al-Kutub, Beirut, 1986, p. 357.

sultan al-Malik al-Ašraf, son of al-Manšūr Qalāwūn, God bless him. It is in the southwestern side of the Euphrates, west of al-Bīra, at the distance of about one *marḡala* (one day’s journey - G.D.), east of Samosata, south of Edessa (al-Ruhā), but all of them are near it.”¹⁵

The fifteenth-century Persian historian Ḥāfiẓ Abrū almost fully repeated Abū al-Fidā’: “Hrōmkla has many orchards and fruit trees. It is situated to the east of Šumaysat (Samosat) at the bank of the Euphrates. The river known as Marzubān flows down the hillside and falls into the Euphrates. The Euphrates flows at the foot of the rock, on the eastern side of the fortress. It is a well-known stronghold and they say that capturing it is very hard. It is located in Syria (belad-e Šām).”¹⁶

Additional information on the fortress location and distance from nearby towns is provided by al-Qalqašandī (d. 1418) writing in particular: “In the past it was called Qal‘at al-Rūm. It is a fortress of the military district (*ḡund*)”¹⁷ of Qinnasrīn (Qinnasrīn) at the southwestern bank of the Euphrates. It is northeast of Aleppo, at a distance of about five *marḡala*, and west of al-Bīra, at a

¹⁵ Abū al-Fidā’, *Taqwīm al-buldān* (Géographie d’Aboulféda, ed. M. Reinaud et W. Mac Guckin de Slane, Paris, 1840), p. 269.

¹⁶ *Ġōḡrafiyā-ye Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū*, vol. 1, ed. by Šādeq Saḡḡādī, Tehran, 1997, p. 369.

¹⁷ After the Islamic conquests the military districts that provided troops for regularly held campaigns were called “ḡund”. Syria, for instance, was initially divided into four “ḡunds” – Jordan, Damascus, Palestine and Ḥims. Later under the Abbasids the fifth ḡund – the military district of Qinnasrīn was added. On the Qinnasrīn ḡund see: Elisseeff N., Qinnasrīn, *EF*, vol. V (KHE-MAHI), E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1986, pp. 124-125; A. Ter-Levondyan (targmanut’yun bnagric’, neracut’yun) (tr. from original, Introduction), *Arabakan albyurner 3 (Otar albyurnerā Hayastani ev hayeri masin, hator 16)* (Arabic sources 3, Foreign sources about Armenia and Armenians, vol. 16), Yerevan, 2005, pp. 314-315 (in Armenian).

distance of one marḥala. The Euphrates passes by its side. It is situated in the fourth *iqḷīm* (district). According to some astrologists (*aṣḥāb al-azyāḡ*) it is located at the longitude of 62°20' and latitude 36°50'. It is a firm and impregnable fortress with suburbs and orchards. A river named Marzubān that is flowing into the Euphrates passes nearby."¹⁸

Another valuable description of the fortress is contained in the congratulatory letter (*baššāra* or *bušrā*) sent by the viceroy of Damascus (*nā'ib al-saltāna*) emir 'Alam al-Dīn al-Šuḡḡā'ī, who played a decisive role in capturing Hromkla in 1292 to the supreme judge of Damascus (*qaḏī al-quḏāt* – the judge of the judges), which will be discussed below. The letter has survived in the works of Mamluk historians al-Ġazarī, al-Nuwayrī, Ibn al-Dawādārī and a XIII-XIV century anonymous chronicler, as well as Ibn-al Furāt: *"It is a fortress on the flat plane on top of a rock with steep grades. The passerby may put his foot here only upon passing those rocks. You could hardly see it (literally: "the heart comes to your throat until you can see it"), as an ambush in the middle of the rocks, kills remaining in disguise, controlling the environment, being hidden. Sky-scraping mountains cover it with their hair and the clouds seem to have thrown their veils on it... The Euphrates passes along its eastern side as a sword stuck into the shoulder of an avenger (tālib al-ṭa'r), and another river winds from the west making a wall around it. There is a rock towering over its top, which closes the view almost fully, and the glance gets lost imagining its cape, and the right way leading to his castle cannot be found without a hint. This is how it looks both from the east and west, and even the sunlight or moonlight do not penetrate [through the castle walls] whether at dawn or twilight. It is surrounded with gorges and tren-*

¹⁸ See: al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-A'šā*, vol. 4, al-Maṭba'a al-Amīriyya, Cairo, 1915, p. 119.

ches (ḥanādiq), where the half-moon is known only by description, and the sun is seen only by half its size."¹⁹

Another Mamluk dignitary and historian, Baybars al-Manšūrī (d. 1325), who was an eyewitness to the seizure of Hromkla, wrote in his "Zubdat al-fikra": "That year (691 A.H.) the sultan headed from Aleppo to Hromkla, which was one of the strongest fortresses, one of the mightiest by its altitude and forbiddingness. It might be reached only through the rocky roads, difficult to pass, full of obstacles. Because of ruggedness of its roads and the difficulty presented by them the horseman could reach it only on foot. And the river Euphrates flows beneath leaving no space for siege."²⁰

Before passing to the discussion of information in medieval Arabic historiography about the Armenian catholicoi of Hromkla we would like to make a brief digression into the early history of

¹⁹ Zetterstéen K. V., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlükensultane in den Jahren 690-741 der Hīra nach arabischen Handschriften* (hereinafter will be conditionally referred to as *al-Mu'allif al-maḡḥūl*, i.e. "Anonymous author"), E. J. Brill, 1919, p. 14. Cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, vol. 31, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, Beirut, 2004, p. 148; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḥ al-duwal wa-l-mulūk*, vol. 8, ed. by Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq wa-Naḡlā 'Izz al-Dīn, al-Maṭba'a al-Amīrkāniyya, Beirut, 1939, p. 140; al-Ġazarī, *Ḥawādīṭ al-zamān wa-anbā'uhu wa-wafayāt al-akābir wa-al-a'yān min abnā'ihī*, ed. by 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, vol. 1, al-Makṭaba al-'ašriyya, Beirut, 1998, pp. 106-107; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-ḡāmi' al-ḡurar*, vol. 8, ed. by 'Ulriḥ Hāmān, Cairo, 1971, pp. 229-230.

²⁰ See also: Baybars al-Manšūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra fī tārīḥ al-hīra*, ed. by Dunāld Rītšārdz, Beirut, 1998, p. 288. Cf. *idem*, *al-Tuḥfa al-mulūkiyya fī al-dawla al-turkiyya*, ed. by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Šāliḥ Ḥamdān, al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lub-nāniyya, Cairo, 1987, pp. 130-131. Baybars al-Manšūrī's narrative almost fully repeats that of al-Kutubī (1363). Though only a small part of his voluminous chronicle "*Uyūn al-tawārīḥ*" is published the photocopy of the manuscript 2922/22 of the Topkapi Palace Collection of Istanbul was available to us. See: al-Kutubī, *Uyūn al-Tawārīḥ* (A 2922), vol. 22, l. 27.

the fortress and the circumstances of its turning into the residence of Armenian patriarchs.

There is no exact information about the foundation of Hromkla. It is often identified with the fortress Urema or Uremna mentioned in ancient sources²¹. Still there are some data relating to its owners until becoming the residence of catholicos. During the Byzantine domination Hromkla was most probably an important fortress guarding one of the fords of the Euphrates and controlling the road down its right bank²². In the first half of the 12th century, it constituted a part of the holdings of *Goł Vasil* and later of his adoptive son *Vasil Tla*²³. In 1116 the fortress was captured from *Vasil Tla* by the count of Edessa Baldwin de Bourg and was included, until the middle of the 12th century, into that Crusader state²⁴.

²¹ See: **Cahen Cl.**, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*, Geuthner, Paris, 1940, p. 122; **Nalbandyan**, *Arabakan albyurnerā*, p. 191; **Mutafian**, *L'Arménie*, p. 604; **Honigmann E.**-[**Bosworth C. E.**], *Rūm Qal'esi*, p. 606.

²² **Stewart**, *Qal'at al-Rūm*, p. 271.

²³ See *Taregirk' Smbata Sparapeti* (The Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet), Paris, 1859, p. 91. Cf. *ibid.*, 1956, p. 139; **Samuēl Anec'i ev šarunakolner: Žamanakagrut'iwn** (Samuel Anec'i and his continuators: Chronicle), ed. by K. Matevosyan, Yerevan, p. 204 (in Armenian); **Bar Hebraeus**, *Chronography*, p. 246: According to Michael The Syrian, Hromkla was under the control of Kurtig, the abovementioned subordinate of Goł Vasil. See: **Michel le Syrien**, *Chronique*, tome III, p. 199, as well as **Michael Rabo**, *The Syriac Chronicle*, p. 628.

²⁴ See **Matt'eos Uřhayec'i**, *Žamanakagrut'iwn* (Matthew of Uřha, Chronicle), grabar bnagirā M. Melik'-Adamyan ev N. Ter-Mik'ayelyani, ašxarabar t'argmanut'yunā H. Bart'ikyan, Yerevan, 1991, pp. 406-407 (continuation of Grigor Yerec') (in Armenian). See also the evidence by the Anonymous Edessan chronicler about the siege of Pir by Nūr al-Dīn in 1144 where Hromkla is mentioned. **Ananun Yedesac'i**, *Žamanakagrut'iwn* (Chronicle), targmanut'yun bnagric', ařajaban ew canot'agrut'yunner (translated from the original, foreword and commentaries by L. Ter-Petrosyan), Yerevan, 1982, p. 95 (in Armenian).

In 1150 the county of Edessa agonizing long before finally fell under the blows of Nūr al-Dīn Zankī. Count Joslin II was taken prisoner to Aleppo where he died a few years later. According to William of Tyre, in conformity with the agreement with the count's wife Beatrice, all fortresses remaining under the Christians' control (Turbessel – *Tall Bāšir*, Hamtab – *Ayntab*, Ravendel – *Rawandān*, Ranculat – Hromkla, *Qal'at al-Rūm*, Bile – *al-Bīra* or *Pir*, Samosatum – Samosata, *Sumaysāt*) surrendered to the Byzantine emperor Manuel (r. 1143-1180)²⁵. Nevertheless, not a year had passed when all possessions in Euphratensis except Hromkla were conquered by the unified forces of allied Muslim state entities – the Zengids of Aleppo, the Sultanate of Iconium, and the Artuqids. An eyewitness to these events historian Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī (d. after 1168) wrote: "*Faḥr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān took Ḥiṣn Maṣṣūr and Bābalū from the possessions of Joscelin's son (Ibn Ġūslīn), seizing also the citadel of Gargar*"²⁶ from the Armenians and Sultan Qīlīğ

²⁵ See: *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (hereinafter RHC), *Historiens occidentaux*, Tome I.1, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Paris, 1844, p. 786, as well as **William of Tyre**, *A history of deeds done beyond the sea*, vol. 2, tr. and annot. by Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, Columbia University Press, New York, 1943, p. 209.

²⁶ An Armenian prince named Vasil was established in the fortress of Karkar (in Arm. sources Karkar). He was the brother of Armenian catholicos Grigor III Pahlavuni. According to Grigor Yerec', the Artuqid amir Faḥr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān agreed to spare his life, and the lives of his family and the soldiers in return for surrendering the fortress. Moreover, "*he took prince Vasil with him to his country with great glory and gave an estate as if to his beloved brother*". See **Matt'eos Uřhayec'i**, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, pp. 438-439. See also **Michel le Syrien**, *Chronique*, tome III, p. 295, as well as **Michael Rabo**, *The Syriac Chronicle*, p. 633: According to Smbat, prince Vasil with the assistance of 400 soldiers of *Joscelin* tried to deliver bread to the population of Karkar but "Xlič-Aslan (sic., should be Kara Aslan), the lord of *Hanjit*", attacking him arrested everybody." See, **Smbat**, *Taregirk'*, 1956, p. 167).

Arslān took Mar'aš and Kaysūm and its environs. Thereafter not a single place remained in the hands of Joscelin's son, other than Qal'at al-Rūm, which if al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn had lived he would have taken it too".²⁷ The thirteenth-century chronicler Vardan Arevelc'i wrote in respect of those events that from the Greek hieromonk ("hořom abela") "the fortress was taken by the Tajiks (i.e. Turks) and from them – by Vasil, the Armenian prince, and from the latter – by Franks. During the hunt the prince (i.e. Joscelin) was deceitfully betrayed into the hands of the Tajiks, who took him to Aleppo, where he died."²⁸ Beatrice, the wife of the captured count, continued Vardan, decided to bequeath Hřomkla (rather to give on custody) to the Armenian catholicos on condition of returning it to her son whenever he recovered his lost power "since he was not confident, that he could live among the foreigners because the Turk took hold of all surrounding provinces."²⁹ While in one of the Armenian redactions of Michael the Syrian's "Chronography" we read: "Only Hřomkla was left, where his wife along with daughters dwelled and by God's providence she gave it over to Ter Grigor, Catholicos of Armenians and it became their eternal seat."³⁰ This is how Catholicos Grigor

²⁷ **Ibn al-Azraq al-Farīqī**, *Tārīḥ Mayyāfariqīn wa-Āmid* (C. Hillenbrand, *The history of the Jazira 1100-1150. The contribution of Ibn al-Azraq al-Farīqī*, vol. 1, p. 255, vol. 2, p. 57). Misinterpreting this information by Ibn al-Azraq, Claude Cahen wrote that Hřomkla was also captured by Ḥusām al-Dīn Timurtāš. See **Cl. Cahen**, *Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides*, *Journal Asiatique*, tome CCXXVII, Paris, 1935, p. 254, n. 1, although he corrected that mistake in another work. Cf. **idem**, *La Syrie*, p. 386.

²⁸ **Vardan**, *Hawak'umn patmutedan*, p. 128.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ See: *Žamanakagrut'awn teārñ Mixayēli Asorwoc' Patriark'i* (The Chronicle of Michael, Patriarch of the Syrians), Jerusalem, 1871, pp. 423-424 (in Armenian). The edition continues and adds: "And the catholicos came and was there until the son of Joscelin arrived, and had him agree to settle for money and had

with his relatives and the whole clan and attendants and all the property of the Holy See³¹ moved to Hřomkla, which being located out of the borders of Cilician Armenia became the See of the Armenian Patriarchs, a peculiar enclave surrounded by Muslim territories. The geographer Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī paid attention to that fact: "This castle is amid the Muslim countries and the only one remaining in the hands of Armenians, while all other lands have

him depart from there because he himself did not believe he could hold it amid the Turks...". See: *Teārñ Mixayēli Patriark'i Asorwoc' žamanakagrut'awn* (The Chronicle of Father Michael, Patriarch of the Syrians), Jerusalem, 1870, pp. 429-430 (in Armenian). On yielding the fortress in exchange for money, see also **Vardan**, *Hawak'umn patmutedan*, p. 128 (in original "inč's yolov"); **Step'annos Orbēlean**, *Sisakan*, vol. 2, p. 193 (in original "ganjagin arareal"); **Smbat, Taregirk'**, 1956, p. 169 ("for 15 thousand dahekan against renouncing the rights provided by Joscelin's will in respect of the fortress". Cf. **Der Nersessian S.**, *The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia*, in: *A History of the Crusades* (hereinafter - HC), vol. II: *The Later Crusades 1189-1311*, gen. ed. K. M. Setton, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969, p. 642. Interestingly, the Syriac original of Michael the Syrian represents the submission of the fortress quite differently: "Joscelin had appointed to Qal'a Romaytā an Armenian named Michael. Learning about Joscelin's death the latter demanded from his wife and son, who was yet in Tel Bashir, to tell Grigor, the Armenian catholicos who was then in Covk', i.e. Pok'r Lič, to come to Qal'a Romaytā to his help. But the catholicos acted treacherously towards him. He caught him, subjected to tortures, took away everything he had and expelled him. Catholicos Grigor established himself in Qal'a Romaytā himself". See: **Michel le Syrien**, *Chronique*, tome III, p. 297, as well as **Michael Rabo**, *The Syriac Chronicle*, p. 686. This narrative of the Syrian Patriarch is reiterated almost verbatim by Bar Hebraeus. See: **Bar Hebraeus**, *Chronography*, p. 277. Meanwhile Dulaurier correctly observed that this "tale" is a reflection of concealed hatred of the Syrians and Jacobites towards the Armenians, the proofs of which are numerous in Syrian history. See: **RHC: Documents arméniens**, tome 1, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Paris, 1869, p. 154.

³¹ See: **Hovsep'yanc'**, *Yišatakarank'*, column 428.

been occupied long ago. The reason for this is first of all its uselessness, because it yields no profit at all, and secondly the circumstance of its being the residence of their patriarchs (*rabb al-milla*), who are usually exempt like the monasteries and churches are set free in the countries of Islam."³²

Trying to explain the reason of the Muslims' indifference and tolerance towards the Armenian catholicosate, A. Stewart supposed that "perhaps the catholicos was not identified as a threat to the Zengids or Ayyubids; perhaps Qal'at al-Rūm was no longer so strategically significant, with the increased importance of the east-west route crossing the Euphrates at al-Bīra."³³ In Sinclair's opinion that "extraordinary circumstance ... seems to be explicable only by the distance of Rum Kale from the most frequented roads and tracks and by its formidable defences."³⁴ However, this situation changed with time. Under the conditions of strengthening and cooperation of the Armenian kingdom with the Mongols, the capture of the patriarchal see was a matter on the Mamluk sultanate's agenda. In the congratulatory letter of emir 'Alam al-Dīn al-Šuġgā'ī we read: "For the frontier line of fortifications the mentioned fortress was the same as a bone stuck in the throat and/or a [sudden] moral decline, or thirst suffocating the breast, and/or the impending eclipse of the full moon, when somebody is plotting against you but pretends being weak and [obedient], when he is disguising his treason and displays apologies. His people have [always] hoped on deceiving the neighbors and military alliance with the Tatars."³⁵

³² Yāqūt, *Mu'ğam*, vol. 4, p. 390.

³³ Stewart, *Qal'at al-Rūm*, p. 270.

³⁴ Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, vol. 4, p. 215.

³⁵ See: al-Mu'allif al-maġhūl, p. 14; Cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, vol. 31, p. 147; Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, vol. 8, pp. 139-140; al-Ġazarī, *Ḥawadit*, vol. 1, p. 106; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 8, p. 229.

The author of the colophon of "Vark' srboc'" ("Lives of the Saints") written in Skevra, upset about the instable state and the wanderings of the catholicos seat, states: "After the kingdom of the Bagratid dynasty collapsed and our nation dispersed to serve as slaves to alien nations, the Patriarchy also left its homeland and the Armenian cities, and there was no one to inherit the native throne of the House of T'orgom, but being orphaned of their heritage the patriarchs wandered in different places under the rule of lawless Ismaelite people."³⁶ Nerses Šnorhali in his encyclical letter addressed to all Armenians, writes about the wanderings of the Illuminator's throne and Hromkla's isolation from the major parts of the Armenian people with deep sorrow: "Our nation hasn't got a royal and populous city, where we could sit on the chair of the Patriarchs and the Christian doctrine and teach our people the commandments of God in accordance with the first patriarchs and vardapets. And we are now like gazelles fleeing from hunters and hounds to reside in these caves."³⁷

The modern scholarly opinions on the reasons for establishing the Catholicosate in Hromkla, outside the country, vary. In A. Bozoyan's opinion, the Armenian clergy pursuing "all-Armenian" political goals and trying to preserve its autonomy from civil authorities and from merging with the state, preferred to stay in a foreign environment "under the protection of the Hromkla castle subject to Muslim states."³⁸ According to Cl. Mutaġian, the answer to the question of establishing the Catholicosate in isolated Hromk-

³⁶ See: Hovsep'yanc', *Yiřatakarak'*, column 551.

³⁷ *Ėndhanakan tult'k' S. Nersisi Šnorhaliwoy* (Encyclical Letters of St. Nerses Šnorhali), Jerusalem, 1871. pp. 6-7 (in Armenian).

³⁸ See: Bozoyan A., *Byuzandiai arewelyan k'alak'akanut'yuna ew Kilikyan Hayastana XII dari 30-70-akan t'vakannerin* (The Byzantine Eastern Policy and Cilician Armenia in the '30-'70s of the 12th century), Yerevan, 1988, p. 17 (in Armenian).

la instead of Armenian Cilicia is clear: "The spiritual authorities had no desire to depend on the secular rulers, consequently they preferred to conserve their autonomy as much as possible. So, its location within the Muslim and Frank environment was the most secure way to achieve that objective."³⁹ Contrary to both opinions acceptable for us, G. Harut'yunyan thinks that transferring the Patriarchal chair to Hromkla was the initiative of the Rubenids. According to him, thus they were solving the problem of liberating the Armenian Church from the influence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople on the one hand, and "establishing direct and effective control" over it on the other hand. *"Even though Hromkla was out of the administrative borders of Cilician Armenia, - continues G. Harut'yunyan, - it was not a condition sufficient for the Armenian catholicosate to be able to maintain independent policy."*⁴⁰

Owing to the Hromkla catholicoi, the Armenian Church entered into the field of inter-Church relations and received wide recognition. The catholicosate established active contacts with the Roman, Byzantine and Syrian churches⁴¹. Within a very short term, the Catholicosate became a real center of Armenian culture and

³⁹ Mutaḡian, *La Cilicie au carrefour des empires*, t. 1, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1988, p. 380.

⁴⁰ Harut'yunyan G., Ditohut'yunner Kilikiayum haykakan petakanutyan arajac'man harc'i šurj (Observations on the issue of emergence of the Armenian statehood in Cilicia), in: *Hayoc' patmut'yan harc'er* (Issues of the Armenian history), vol. 6, Yerevan, 2005, p. 242 (in Armenian).

⁴¹ Active negotiations with the Patriarchy of Constantinople on ecclesiastical-dogmatical issues and church union were held especially in the '60-s of the 12th century during the reign of Emperor Manuel. See Bozoyan, *Byuzandiayi arewelyan k'alak'akanut'yuna*, pp. 218-252. To discuss the Armenian-Byzantine church union and some dogmatic-liturgical issues a large council was convened here in 1178 with the participation of high-ranking clerics from Cilicia, Greater Armenia, as well as the Catholicos of Alwank' and Patriarch of Syrians. See: Nerses Šnorhali, *Jndhanrakan tult'k'*, pp. 198-199.

science where the brightest Armenian minds of the time were educated and taught⁴². The Armenian Patriarchate was especially famous for its school of miniature painting (represented by Kirakos, Vardan, Hovhannes, T'oros Roslin, et al.) that gave a new breath and impetus to the development of medieval Armenian book art and enhanced the opening of new centers of miniature painting. Numerous exceptional books were copied and illustrated in Hromkla⁴³.

During one and a half centuries of the Armenian Patriarchate's activity in the fortress the catholicoi undertook also large-scale building works. Grigor III Pahlavuni fortified Hromkla's walls and built two magnificent churches of St. Gregory Illuminator and the

⁴² According to Bar Hebraeus, a famous Syrian physician named Simeon, appointed by Ilkhan Hülegü (1256-1265) as head of the court physicians, also came from Hromkla. He was rather influential and well reputed at the Ilkhanid court. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 437. Simeon was executed in 1289 by Ilkhan Arghun (1284-1291) after being accused of participating in the conspiracy against him. *"Of the Taziks (tāzīkān, i.e. "non-Mongols") murdered were emir 'Alī Tamaḡācī, Husām al-Dīn Qazwīnī, 'Imād al-Dīn Munaḡḡim (astrologer), Šam'un famous by name Rūm Qal'a and a Christian Bahā' al-Dawla Abū al-Karam"*. See Rašīd al-Dīn, *Ġāmi' al-tawārīḡ*, vol. 2, ed. by Bahmān Karīmī, Eqbāl, Tehran, 1960, p. 818, as well as Rašīd-ad-Dīn, *Sbornik letopisej* (Compendium of Chronicles), tom III, perevod s persidskogo A.K. Arends, Moscow-Leningrad, 1946, p. 121 (in Russian). There is a separate study on "Simeon of Hromkla". See Takahashi H., Simeon of Qal'a Rumaita, Patriarch Philoxenus Nemrod and Bar 'Ebroyo, *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, vol. 4, 2001, pp. 45-91.

⁴³ For the miniature school of Hromkla and the tradition of Cilician miniature see in detail: Yeremyan A., *Manrankarič' T'oros Roslin* (Miniaturist Toros Roslin), Ėjmiacin, 1955, vol. 2, pp. 22-31; Azaryan L., *Kilikyan manrankarč'ut'yuna XII-XIII darrerum* (Cilician Miniature painting of the 12-13th centuries), Yerevan, 1964 (especially pp. 88-106); Der Nersessian S., *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, Washington D.C., 1993 (especially pp. 1-35).

Holy Virgin. Later, by their side the St. Savior's church was built. "In a short span of time Hromkla thrived, became more glorious, - so wrote Kyuleseryan, adding, - and the churches of the Catholicosate whether due to the new liturgy of Šnorhali, or the buildings of *Grigor Tla* became really significant and famous."⁴⁴ As we know, by order of John V of Sis, the precious jewelry and ornate dishes of the See were sold and all revenue was spent on the castle fortification works⁴⁵. The Mamluk historian Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī (d. 1453) wrote in his "*ʿIqd al-ğumān*": "In the past it (i.e. Hromkla) had only three monastery-fortresses (*qilā' al-şawāmi*) stuck into the rocks but then Armenians fortified it by walls."⁴⁶

Evidence to the international fame of the Hromkla Catholicosate is its mention in the romance "Parzival" by Wolfram von Eschenbach (d. circa 1220): "...when he had reached the gate he found the pedlar, whose booth was by no means empty. So much lay for sale inside it that I'd be a happy man to have such rich possessions! Gawan dismounted in front of him. He had never seen such rich wares as it befell him to see there. The booth was of samite, square, high and wide. What lay for sale within? If its value were to be matched in money, even the Baruch of Baldac (i.e. Baghdad) could not pay for what lay within there, nor the Katholikos of Ranculat (i.e. Catholicos of Hromkla)."⁴⁷

As we see, von Eschenbach compared the Armenian Catho-

licos with the Caliph of Bagdad. This comparison of the German knightly-poet is a convenient departure point for passing to the main part of this study, since in medieval Arabic historiography the Armenian catholicos were frequently bestowed the title "Caliph".

Caliph (Arab. *ḫalīfa* - vicegerent, vicar or deputy) was the head of the Muslim *umma* (community), its spiritual and secular leader. The institution of "caliph" appeared after the death of Prophet Muḥammad (*Rasūl Allāh* - the Prophet of the God) for the purpose of defining the legal and conceptual essence of the power of his successors (firstly as *ḫalīfat rasūl Allāh* - "the vicegerent of the Prophet of Allāh", then as *ḫalīfat Allāh* - "the vicegerent of Allāh"). With the gradual weakening and splitting of the Caliphate over the course of time and also in parallel with the emergence of new and more influential Muslim states (Buids, Seljuqs) the title's perception changed. The functions and powers once reserved exclusively for the caliphs were little by little restricted in favor of the new institution - "sultān". As a result, being deprived of the attributes of the civic or secular power the caliph sustained the position of merely spiritual leader (*imām*) of the faithful Muslims and the right to govern the religious affairs⁴⁸. The sack of Baghdad

⁴⁴ Kyuleseryan B., *Covk'-Thuk'-Hrom-Klay*, p. 68.

⁴⁵ See Smbat, *Taregirk'*, 1859, p. 115; Ormanean M., *Azgapatum*, vol. 1, columns 1561-1562.

⁴⁶ See al-'Aynī, *ʿIqd al-ğumān fī tāriḫ ahl al-zamān*, vol. 3, ed. by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'amma li-l-kitāb, Cairo, 1990, p. 121.

⁴⁷ See Wolfram's *von Eschenbach Parzival und Titarel*, herausgegeben von Karl Bartsch, Theil 1, F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1870, S. 248; as well Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival and Titarel*, trans. with notes by Cyril Edwards, Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 237.

⁴⁸ On historical evolution of the institution of "caliph" and its correlation with that of "sultan" see in detail: Bartol'd V.V., *Xalif i sultan (Caliph and Sultan)*, in: *Sočinenija*, tom VI (Raboty po istorii islama i Arabskogo Xalifata) (Works, vol. VI) (Studies on the history of Islam and the Arab Caliphate), Nauka, Moscow, 1966, pp. 15-78 (in Russian); Gusejnov R.A., *Sultan i xalif: Iz istorii sjuzereniteta I vassaliteta na Bližnem Vostoke XI-XII vekax* (On the history of suzerainty and vassalage in the Near East in XI-XII cc.), vol. 19 (82), 1969, pp. 127-138 (in Russian); and the articles on these two titles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. See Sourdell D., Lambton A., de Jong F., Holt P., *Khalifa* in: *EF*, vol. 4, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1997, pp. 937-953 and Kramers J.-[Bosworth C. E.], Schumann O., Kane O., *Sultān* in: *EF*, vol. 9 (SAN-SZE), E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1997, pp. 849-854.

by the Mongols in 1258 marked the collapse of the Abbasid caliphate. Nevertheless, not much later (in 1260) the Mamluk sultan al-Zāhir Baybars (1260-1277), with the intention of giving more legitimacy to his own power, solemnly proclaimed a representative of the Abbasid dynasty named al-Mustansir a caliph, and after the death of the latter – another contender named al-Ḥākim. By taking that step, the sultan actually restored the lost caliphate, which survived, though as an institution of merely symbolic and ritual-ceremonial nature, until the conquest of Egypt and destruction of the Mamluk sultanate by Ottoman Turks (1517)⁴⁹.

Thus, it is clear that by naming the Armenian spiritual leader a 'vicar' the Arabs implied the fact of his being the "vicar of God" like their Caliph was the "vicar of Allāh". Indeed, as Yāqūt wrote: "There (in Hromkla) is the seat of the Armenian *baṭrik* (i.e. Patriarch) – the Vicar of Christ (*ḥalīfat al-Masīḥ*) for them, whom the Armenians name "*katāgīkūs*."⁵⁰ There is another simple explana-

⁴⁹ For the Abbasid caliphate in Cairo see Ayalon D., Studies on the Transfer of The 'Abbāsid Caliphate from Baḡdād to Cairo, *Arabica*, vol. 7.1, 1960, pp. 41-59; Holt P. M., Some Observations on the 'Abbāsid Caliphate of Cairo, *BSOAS*, vol. 47.3, 1984, pp. 501-507; Heidemann S., *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (A. D. 1261): Vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad über Aleppo zu den Resaturationen in Kairo*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1994; and the latter's review on Amitai-Preiss R., The Fall and Rise of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 116, No. 3, pp. 487-494.

⁵⁰ Yāqūt, *Mu'ḡam*, vol. 4, p. 390. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Baḡdādī, *Marāsid al-iṭṭilā'* 'alā asmā' al-amkina wa-l-biqā', vol. 3, Dār al-ḡīl, Beirut, 1992, p. 1118. It is worth quoting for comparison the testimonial given by the same Yāqūt to the Pope of Rome: "There (in Rome) resides the Pope (al-bābā) whom the Franks obey. He occupies the status of imām among them. Those who contradict him are considered rebels and guilty and are punished by exile, ostracism or death. He is the one who prohibits them to have relations with women, even to wash, eat and drink and no one can oppose him." See Yāqūt, *Mu'ḡam*, vol. 3, p. 100. It should be noted that though there are singular cases in

tion in the work of Ibn Wāṣil (1298) "*Mufarriḡ al-kurūb*": "The letter of the Armenian catholicos (with a scribal error - *kāḡīlūs* in the original), Lord of Hromkla, who is the same for Armenians as the caliph for us, reached the sultan."⁵¹ While speaking about the residence of the catholicos, a fourteenth-century Mamluk historian al-'Umārī (d. 1349) could not control his intolerance towards Christian Armenians: "It is known under the name of Hromkla. There was the residence (*maskan*) of the Armenian caliph and the refuge of the Devil (or idol) of infidelity (*tāḡūt al-kufr*)."⁵² In al-'Aynī's "*Iqd al-ḡumān*" we read: "Its Armenian name is Hrūm Klayn, explained in Arabic as Qal'at al-Rūm. This fortress was the seat of the Armenian Kingdom (*kursī mamlakat al-arman*), where sat their caliph whose name is *Kiṭāgīkūs*."⁵³

The cases of naming the Armenian catholicos "Caliph" are not rare also in medieval Persian sources including those created in the cultural environment of the Seljuq Sultanate of Iconium. Specifically we mean a unique source recently entered into circulation, which will be discussed in more detail considering its exclusive importance for Armenology. The author of that work – *Burhān al-Dīn al-Anāwī* (i.e. of Ani, born circa 1142 in the city of Ani and died after 1222) was in the service of *Sayf al-Dīn Baktamūr* (1185-

Arabic historiography where the Pope of Rome is called *ḥalīfa* (*ḥalīfat al-franḡ*, i.e. "the caliph of Franks"), see for instance Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb al-Muḥṭaṣar fī aḥbār al-baṣār*, vol. 4, al-Maṭba'a al-Ḥusayniyya al-Miṣriyya, Cairo, 1907, p. 39; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarriḡ al-kurūb fī aḥbār banī Ayyūb*, vol. 4, ed. by Ḡamāl al-Dīn al-Šayyāl, Cairo, 1957, p. 248; Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, vol. 7, ed. by Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq, al-Maṭba'a al-Amīrkāniyya, Beirut, 1942, p. 33.

⁵¹ See Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarriḡ*, vol. 2, p. 320. Cf. Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīḥ al-duwal*, vol. 4.1, ed. by Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Šammā', Baṣra, 1967, p. 216.

⁵² See Al-'Umārī, *Kitāb al-Ta'rīf bi-muṣṭalaḥ al-šarīf*, ed. by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Šams al-Dīn, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, Beirut, 1988, pp. 232-233.

⁵³ Al-'Aynī, *Iqd*, vol. 3, p. 121.

1193) of the Šāh-i Arman dynasty of Aḥṭaṭ, then moved to Rūm where he presented his poem "*Anīs al-qulūb*" ("Hearts' companion") on the occasion of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykā'ūs I's (1211-1220) enthronement. Thus, winning the trust of the Seljuq sultan, he was appointed a *qāḍī* (judge) of Malatya. "*Anīs al-qulūb*" belongs to the genre of the so called "prophetic stories" (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*). After the account of Jesus's life, the author tells about the Christians of his time dedicating the most extensive passage to Armenians among whom he was born and raised (and even probably spoke Armenian). That passage is a real sample of anti-armenian theological polemic representing a distorted history of Armenian conversion and St. Gregory the Illuminator (named Ṭiyāṭūs by the author). The single manuscript of Burhān al-Dīn's work kept at the Süleymaniye Library of Istanbul is yet unpublished. Until lately it has attracted the attention of one or two scholars and the only passage related to Armenians was recently translated and brought into circulation by Andrew Peacock⁵⁴. As we already mentioned the reason of the detailed discussion of Burhān al-Dīn's poem is the mention of Hromkla and the Armenian catholicos residing there. According to Burhān al-Dīn, after the death of Ṭiyāṭūs the "kings of the world" began competing for getting his bone-relics and stealing them from one another.

"When the body reached the border of Rūm, they hid it,

But at this time what I know is where it is, a right hand remains of it.

There is a castle on the borders of Syria which is called the

⁵⁴ See A. Peacock, An interfaith polemic of Medieval Anatolia: Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn al-Anawī on the Armenians and their heresies, in: *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, ed. by A.C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola and Sara Nur Yildiz, Ashgate, 2015, pp. 233-261. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to prof. Peacock for kindly providing the photocopy of Manuscript 2984 of the Süleymaniye Library.

castle of Hurram [Hurram-qal'a]⁵⁵,

There is an arrogant and presumptuous priest (*kašīš*) there who is the *ḥalīfa* in the Armenian millat (*millat-i Armanī*), he keeps that hand next to himself, from which he gains a great status.

Armenians in both east and west are all subordinate to this hand.

They come to him from all over the world, in search of reverence and honour

For in every country he appoints a deputy to be the leader (*rahbar*) there

Good and evil (*bad u-nīk*), unbelief (*kufṛ*), and what is licit and illicit (*ḥalāl u-ḥaram*) they know completely from him⁵⁶."

Summarizing the above we see that the most wide-spread namings or titles of the Armenian patriarchs in Muslim historiography of the 12th-16th centuries were *baṭrik al-arman* (patriarch of the Armenians)⁵⁷ spelt also as *batrik al-arman*⁵⁸; distorted translite-

⁵⁵ Text has Hurra+qal'a. Peacock has taken it literally and translated as the "castle of Felicity". See Peacock, An interfaith polemic, p. 242: Whereas, in our opinion the Muslim author simply tried to transliterate the Armenian word *Hromkla* and the reason of Persian ḥā'- instead of Armenian sound 'h' may be just a scribal error (حرم قلعه > حرم قلعة).

⁵⁶ See Burhān al-Dīn al-Anawī, *Anīs al-qulūb*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2984, fol. 257a. See the full translation of the passage in Peacock, *An interfaith polemic*, p. 260. "The right hand of the Illuminator" will be reverted below on other occasions.

⁵⁷ See for instance Yāqūt, *Mu'ğam*, vol. 4, p. 390; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihaya*, vol. 31, p. 144; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, p. 289; al-Kutubī, *Uyūn al-Tawārīḥ* (A 2922), vol. 22, fol. 27; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, *Marāsid*, vol. 3, p. 1118; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, ed. by Muḥammad Ya'alāwī, vol. 3, Dār al-Ġarb al-Islāmī, 1991, p. 797.

⁵⁸ See Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, vol. 8, p. 137, 142; Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Al-Ibar wa-diwān al-mubtada' wa-l-ḥabar fī tāriḥ al-'Arab wa-l-Barbar*, vol. 5, ed. by Ḥalīl Šihāda wa-Suhayl Zakkār, Dār al-Fikr, Beirut, 2000, p. 464; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb*

rations of the Armenian word “kat’olikos” (as *kātāgikūs*, *kītāgikūs*, *kāgikūs*, *kāgīlūs*, *kīnāgīlūs*)⁵⁹; *ṣāḥib Qal’at al-Rūm* (Lord of Hromkla)⁶⁰, and finally *ḥalīfat al-arman* (caliph of the Armenians or vicegerent of the Armenians). Each of these titles was frequently used alongside another title. As regards the title “Armenian vicar”, there is a unique case in Arabic historiography when instead of *ḥalīfa* an alternative form *mustaḥlaf* with the same meaning “vicar”, “vicegerent” or “heir” was used. The term *mustaḥlaf al-arman* was applied by ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, the royal scribe (kātib) of Nūr al-Dīn, in his work “*Al-Barq al-Šāmī*” (“The Syrian Lightning”). It is worth noting that this is the first mention of the Armenian catholicosate of Hromkla in the medieval Arabic historiography⁶¹. However, the passage in question has come to us indi-

al-sulūk li-ma’rifat duwal al-mulūk, vol. 1.3, ed. by Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyāda, Maṭba’at al-ta’līf wa-l-tarǧama wa-l-naṣr, Cairo, pp. 778-779; *Ibn Wāṣil*, Mufarriǧ, vol. 2, p. 320.

⁵⁹ See ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Faṭḥ al-qussī fī al-faṭḥ al-Qudsī* (‘Imād ed-dīn el-kātib el-iṣfahānī, Conquête de la Syrie ed de La Palestine par Ṣalāḥ ed-dīn, publié par le comte Carlo de Landberg, E. J. Brill, Leide, 1888), p. 262; *Abū al-Fidā*, *al-Muḥtaṣar*, vol. 4, p. 27; *Ibn al-Wardī*, *Tatimmat al-Muḥtaṣar fī aḥbār al-baṣar*, Dār al-kutub al-ilmiyya, Beirut, 1996, p. 237; *al-Mu’allif al-maǧhūl*, p. 15, 17; *Ibn Šaddād*, *al-Nawādir al-sultāniyya wa-l-maḥāsīn al-Yūsufiyya*, ed. by Ġamāl al-Dīn Šayyāl, Cairo, 1994, p. 191; *Abū Šāma*, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī aḥbār al-dawlatayn*, vol. 3, ed. by Ibrāhīm Šams al-Dīn, Dār al-Kutub al-ilmiyya, Beirut, 2002, p. 77.

⁶⁰ ‘Imād al-Dīn, *al-Faṭḥ*, p. 216, 262; *Ibn Wāṣil*, Mufarriǧ, vol. 2, p. 320.

⁶¹ We have discussed this information of ‘Imād al-Dīn (al-Bundārī) in a report dedicated to prince Mleh. The report was published in a volume, containing the proceedings of the conference. See *Danielyan G.*, Mleh iṣḥani gorcuneut’yuna XII-XVI dareri arab patmagirneri gnahatmamb (The activity of prince Mleh in the the Arabic historiography of the 12th-15th centuries), in: *Hayastan ew arabakan aṣxarhə. Patmut’yun ew ardi xndirner (Armenia and the Arab world. History and modern issues)*, Yerevan, 2014, pp. 89-91 (in Armenian).

rectly since the full text of the original has not reached us. Part of that work has survived in the abridgement of the thirteenth-century author al-Bundārī titled “*Sanā al-barq al-Šāmī*” (The Radiance of the Syrian Lightning) as well as in partial quotations by the next-generation historians⁶². The said information refers to controversies arising in 1173 in connection with the succession of patriarch and the role of Armenian prince Mleh (1170-1175) and Nūr al-Dīn (1146-1174) in settling that dispute. The thing is that Armenian catholicos Nerses IV the Gracious (Šnorhali) had proclaimed his eldest nephew *Grigor Tla* as his successor, but “the son of his elder brother was not near the deathbed of his uncle and the son of the younger brother took his ring and proclaimed himself a Catholicos.”⁶³ Having learnt about it Grigor Tla protested that decision and appealed for the recovery of his infringed rights to his son-in-law Armenian prince Mleh who was then participating in the campaign against the sultan of Iconium Qilīǧ Arslān. Mleh in his turn applied to Nūr al-Dīn. Finally, upon the latter’s interference Grigor Apirat was dethroned from the patriarchal throne of Hromkla and *Grigor Tla* was consecrated a catholicos. The same events are described in one of the Armenian redactions of Michael the Syrian’s “*Chronography*” as follows: “*And he went and appealed to his son-in-law, prince Mleh: and Mleh took him to Nordin (Nūr al-Dīn) and by his assistance he entered Hromkla and sat on the patriarchal chair of his paternal uncle under the name of Grigor.*”⁶⁴

⁶² Only the second and fifth parts of the work have survived. Their manuscripts are kept at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. See *Richards B.*, ‘Emād-al-Dīn Kāteb, in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. VIII, Fasc. 4, pp. 380.

⁶³ See *Mixayēl Asori*, *Žamanakagrut’iwn*, 1871, p. 472.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 472 and *idem*, 1870, pp. 471-472. Cf. *Michel le Syrien, Chronique*, tome III, pp. 353-354, as well as *Michael Rabo, The Syriac Chronicle*, p. 704. See also *Vardan, Hawak’umn patmutean*, p. 129 (“and the son of his brother

There is a scholarly opinion in Armenology shared also by L. Ter-Petrossian that these events had been described primarily by Syriac sources and Armenian authors just based on them⁶⁵. Meanwhile, there are several Arabic sources containing interesting information about these events. As we mentioned, the first of them was *ʿImād al-Dīn* whose evidence with partial “corrections” was reiterated by several historians of the succeeding generations. Listing the leaders in Nūr al-Dīn’s service, that participated in the campaign against the sultan of Iconium Qilīğ Arslān, *ʿImād al-Dīn* wrote: “Then came the year [5]69 A.H. (1173/1174) and Nūr al-Dīn had already captured Mar’aš, Bahans (sic, should be Bahasnā), Arbīl (?) and Kaysūn (Kaysūm) fortresses and the Armenian ruler (mutamallik al-arman) Malīḥ [i]bn Lāwūn was in his service, having placed himself under his protection. Entered his service also Ḍayā’ al-Dīn Mas’ūd ibn Qifḡaq... that were honored even greater awards (sarrahahum bi-l-’atā’ al-aḡzal). Then he revealed that he was to campaign to Hromkla, which is at the Euphrates, and the Armenian vicar (mustaḥlaf al-arman) received him with innocence (bi-l-barā’a), and he (Nūr al-Dīn) took five thousand

Grigor took the veil with the assistance of Noradin”).

⁶⁵ L. Ter-Petrossian, *Xač’akirnerā ev hayerā (The Crusaders and the Armenians)*, vol. II, *Patma-k’alak’agitakan hetazotutyun (Historico-political study)*, Yerevan, 2007, pp. 496-497. Besides the Armenian redactions of Michael the Syrian the role of atabek in the enthronement of Grigor Tla is mentioned also in “Patmut’yun srboc’ harc’n meroc” (see ibid., pp. 521-522) published by L. Ter-Petrossian, as well as in two or three small chronicles, such as a continuation of the work of Samuel of Ani, written by Step’annos Orbelean. See: *Manr Žamanakagrut’yunner XIII-XVIII cc.*, (Small chronicles, hereinafter - MŽ), ed. by V. A. Hakobyan, Yerevan, 1951, p. 35; *Samuēl Anec’i ev šarunakolner, Žamanakagrut’iwn*, p. 23; as well as in the work of the 17th cent. chronicler Davit’ of Baḥš. (See MŽ, vol. 2, 1956, p. 342). Cf. *Bozoyan, Byuzandiyai arewelyan k’alak’akamut’yuna*, pp. 119-120 (ref. 3) and *Ter-Petrossian, Xač’akirnerā*, vol. 2, pp. 152-153 (ref. 17).

dinars as ḡziya (poll tax) and a pledge of subordination, and returned to Aleppo, having succeeded in everything.”⁶⁶

Abū Šāmā (d. 1267) and Ibn Kaṭīr (d. 1373) render this information of *ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib* somewhat differently. Both of them quote the amount of *jizya* received as fifty and not five thousand⁶⁷. The wrong numeral might be either a scribal error or an intentional exaggeration on behalf of the later Arab historians. Another Arab historian of the 13th century ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Šaddād (d. 1285) (not to be confused with Šalāḥ al-Dīn’s biographer Bahā’ al-Dīn Ibn Šaddād, d. 1234) probably misunderstanding the evidence of his predecessors provided a distorted explanation of the objective of Nūr al-Dīn’s campaign against Hromkla. Writing specifically: “... after that no one campaigned to the Gorges (*lam yudrib*) until 569 [A. H.]. That year sultan al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn campaigned to the Gorges and besieged the Armenian land for seizing it from them but its lord (of the Armenians) donated fifty thousand dinars, which Nūr al-Dīn accepted with satisfaction, granting him amnesty.”⁶⁸ The last Arabic source mentioning the

⁶⁶ See *ʿImād al-Dīn, Sanā al-barq al-Šāmī (Iḥtišār al-Bundārī)*, ed. by Faṭḥiyya al-Nabrāwī, Cairo, 1979, p. 71. The editor of the work has erroneously identified *mustaḥlaf al-arman* with the Danishmend emir of Sebastia (Sivas) Dū al-Nūn. See ibid., ref. 11.

⁶⁷ Moreover, instead of *mustaḥlaf al-arman* Abū Šāma uses *mustaḥlaf al-arḍ* (Arab. “land”, “country”). See *Abū Šāma, Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 176: Cf. *idem, Uyūn al-Rawḍatayn*, ed. by Aḥmad al-Baysūmī, Manšūrāt wizārat al-ṭaqāfa, Dimašq, 1991, vol. 1, p. 333. See also *Ibn Kaṭīr, Al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, vol. 16, ed. by ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī, Dār Haḡar, 1998, pp. 471-472. Cf. *Elisseeff N., Nūr ad-Dīn, Un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades (511-69H./1118-1174)*, tome II, Institut Français de Damas, 1967, pp. 691-692 and *Ter-Lewondyan V.A., Kilikyan Hayastanā ew Merjavor Arewelk’i arabakan erkrnerā* (Cilician Armenia and the Arab countries of the Near East in 1145-1226), “Gitut’yun”, Yerevan, 1994, p. 68.

⁶⁸ See *ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn Šaddād, Al-A’lāq al-ḡafīra fi ḍikr umarā’ al-Šām wa-l-*

“campaign” against Hromkla is Badr al-Dīn al-‘Aynī. He refers as a source of his information to an unknown abridgement of *Abū al-Fidā*’s *Muḥtaṣar*, titled *al-Hadā’iq wa-l-‘uyūn*. Specifically al-Aynī wrote: “Sultan Nūr al-Dīn al-Šahīd⁶⁹ headed toward it in 569 [A.H.] and the Armenian caliph received him with a tax of 500 thousand (sic!) dirhams as *ḡizya*, then [Nūr al-Dīn] returned to Aleppo.”⁷⁰

Thus, though the Arab historians do not give names, their reports are enough to state that the installation of *Grigor Tla* on the catholicossal throne took place owing to the intercession of prince Mleh and interference of Nūr al-Dīn.

Grigor Tla occupied the catholicossal throne for two decades. During the period of his patriarchy the negotiations on the Armenian-Byzantine ecclesiastical union that started in the days of Nerses of Klay continued. Being himself a proponent of such union, in 1178 he convened a large ecclesiastical council at Hromkla. Besides ruling the religious affairs and establishing interchurch relations, *Grigor Tla* displayed the abilities of an apt and skilful politician.

The second mention of the Hromkla catholicosate in Arabic historiography is in conjunction with the letters of the Armenian catholicos sent to the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt Šalāḥ al-Dīn back in 1190. However, before passing to that correspondence we need to briefly turn back to the complicated political situation existing in the Near East in the ‘80s-‘90s of the 12th century. After the death of Nūr al-Dīn in 1174, the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty Šalāḥ al-Dīn, who was already the actual ruler of Egypt since 1171, received full freedom of action. Proclaiming himself a sultan Šalāḥ al-Dīn

shortly established his rule over Damascus, Ḥamā and other cities of Syria except Aleppo. Continuing his victorious campaigns in 1180-1186, Šalāḥ al-Dīn conquered Aleppo, Ġazīra and Mosul, becoming the strongest force in the region and an indisputable standard-bearer in the fight against the Crusaders. Hromkla as well as a number of other regions also happened to be in the zone of Šalāḥ al-Dīn’s control. In 1187 the overstrained relations between the Sultan and Franks ended with the crashing defeat of the Crusaders by the Muslim troops at the battle of Hittin. Captured at Hittin was the king of Jerusalem Guy de Lusignan, a few months later Jerusalem was compelled to surrender to Šalāḥ al-Dīn⁷¹.

The fall of Jerusalem was a heavy blow to the Franks. Therefore, the king of France Philip II Augustus (1180-1223), king of England Richard I the Lionheart (1189-1199) and the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire Frederick I Barbarossa (1155-1190) resolved to improve the catastrophic situation by organizing the Third Crusade (1189-1192). Two of the three initiators of the crusade, Philip II and Richard I, left for the Holy land by sea and landing in Palestine besieged Acre. Meanwhile, Frederick I decided to lead the rest of the Crusader troops to Jerusalem by land roads. However, he died on the way and the troops reached Acre under his son’s command⁷².

Considering the unpredictability of the Crusaders’ face-off with Šalāḥ al-Dīn, prince Levon II of Cilician Armenia preferred keeping neutrality and indemnifying his country against possible retaliation of the Muslim ruler. So abstaining from any personal contacts with the German emperor and the latter’s persuasions to

Ġazīra, vol. 1.2, ed. by Yaḥyā Zakariyā ‘Abbāra, Dimašq, 1991, p. 337.

⁶⁹ Šahīd means “a martyr” fallen in the name of Islam.

⁷⁰ See al-‘Aynī, *Iqd*, vol. 3, p. 121.

⁷¹ For the fall of the Jerusalem kingdom see: **Balwdīn M. W.**, The decline and fall of Jerusalem, 1174-1189, in: HC, vol. I, The First Hundred Years, pp. 590-625.

⁷² For the crusades of Frederick Barbarossa see: **Edgar N. Johnson**, The Crusades of Frederick Barbarossa and Henry V, in: HC, vol. II, pp. 87-122.

participate in the Crusade, the Armenian prince still had to provide food and shelter to the Frank soldiers exhausted by the long pass and famine⁷³. Correspondence exchanged with the emperor in this respect was maintained by Grigor Tla instead of Levon but in coordination with him. The Catholicos advised that he was impatiently waiting for the emperor's arrival in Sis⁷⁴. Šalāḥ al-Dīn's biographer, Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Šaddād described further relations of Levon with the Crusaders as follows: "When Ibn Lāfūn heard about their misfortunes and the famine, death, fear and diseases that struck them because of the death of their king he did not find it expedient to join their ranks as he did not know how would the things go, besides they were Franks, and he – an Armenian and he fortified positions in several of his invincible fortresses."⁷⁵

The next step undertaken by the Armenian catholicos was writing another letter to Šalāḥ al-Dīn. "At that period the Sultan, God bless Him, received a letter from "*Kāḡīkūs*" that was the leader of Armenians and the lord of Hromkla on the Euphrates", wrote Ibn Šaddād quoting the translation of the letter, where the Catholicos warned the sultan about the approaching Crusader troops, trying at the same time to justify the Crusaders' stationing and giving them safe passage as a forced step by Levon. Saying, for instance, that the Armenian prince had sent an envoy Hātim

⁷³ See **Ibn al-Aṭīr**, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīḥ*, vol. 10, ed. by Muḥammad Yūsuf Daqqāq, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, Beirut, 2003, p. 194; also *Ibn al-Asir, Otār albyurnerā Hayastani ev hayeri masin, 11* (Ibn al-Aṭīr. Foreign sources about Armenia and Armenians, vol. 11), trans. intro. and comments by **A. Ter-Lewondyan**, Yerevan, 1981, p. 275 (in Armenian).

⁷⁴ **Vardan**, *Hawak'umn patmutedan*, p. 136.

⁷⁵ See **Ibn Šaddād**, *al-Nawādir*, p. 191; also **Nalbandyan**, *Arabakan albyurnerā*, p. 298; also **Ter-Lewondyan V.A.**, *Kilikyan Hayastana*, pp. 98-99. Cf. **Sibt ibn al-Gawzī**, *Mirāt al-zamān fī tārīḥ al-a'yān* (ed. with introduction by J. R. Jewett, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1907), vol. 8, p. 258.

(Het'um) by name to the emperor who was heading from the Sultanate of Iconium to Cilicia, he added that the emperor was advised to abstain from that undertaking and return to the land of *Qilīḡ Arslān*. "Your humble servant provides this information about the [present] situation and will additionally advise whenever there are any news and if there is the will of the Almighty God. This is the letter of *Kāḡīkūs*, which means "Caliph" whose name is Bār Krīkūr Ibn Bāsil (Grigor Tla, son of Vasil)", concluded the historian⁷⁶. A little later Ibn Šaddād informed about the second diplomatic mission sent to the sultan, at whose reception the historian was personally present.

According to Ibn Šaddād the Catholicos's legate informed about the number of Crusaders moving against the sultan and about their low morale. Interestingly, the legate also told that "when Ibn Lāfūn learnt about their miserable state he considered taking advantage of the king's disease and weakness and take hold of his wealth."⁷⁷

In V. Ter-Ghevondian's opinion "*The letter of Grigor Catholicos is mentioned by three Arab historians. The first of them – Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Šaddād mentioned it in his "Biography of Šalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī. It is quoted almost unchanged in the "History" of the fourteenth-century Egyptian historian Ibn al-Furāt, while the "Book of Two Gardens" of the thirteenth-century Damascene historian Abū Šāma contains only its brief summary.*"⁷⁸ However,

⁷⁶ **Ibn Šaddād**, *al-Nawādir*, p. 193.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-197. See also **Abū Šāma**, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 4, p. 77.

⁷⁸ See **Ter-Lewondyan V.A.**, *Kilikyan Hayastani artak'in k'alak'akanut'yuna XII dari verjin* (The foreign policy of Cilician Armenia at the end of the 12th century), *Patma-banasirakan handes* (Historical-philological journal, hereinafter HPJ), 2010, № 1, p. 125 (in Armenian); Cf. *idem*, *Kilikyan Hayastana*, p. 99. See the passage in the works of **Abū Šāma** and **Ibn al-Furāt**: *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 4, p. 77-78 and *al-Duwal*, vol. 4.1, pp. 216-219.

it is worth noting that there are much more mentions of this letter in Arabic historiography. Thus, we find the first mention of the catholicos's letter in Imād al-Kātib's work, who became the royal secretary of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn after the death of Nūr al-Dīn. In his book *"al-Faṭḥ al-qussī"*, written in rhymed prose and dedicated to the victorious wars of the sultan against the Crusaders, the author vividly related the content of the letter of the Armenian patriarch. He wrote: "A letter came from Kāyāgīkūs, lord of Qal'at al-Rūm, where he was tempting and intimidating, thundering and striking like a lightening bolt, assuring and listing, slipping (or falling – *yudahdihu*) and threatening, showing that he is giving [sincere] advice."⁷⁹ At the end, the author told about the panic caused by the information provided by the "lord of Hromkla". "When these news arrived the country was disturbed (*iḍṭarabat al-Diyār*), fear filled the plateaus and caves. They said it was no more possible to resist the [enemy] from this side, and wherever he turned there would be no obstacle for him. There was no doubt that he was moving into the depth of Syria, crossing the borders of Islam."⁸⁰ Ibn Wāṣil (d. 1298)⁸¹ included the letter into his *"Mufarriḡ al-kurūb"* borrowing the text from Ibn Ṣaddād with slight changes. Then the fourteenth-century historian al-Dahabī (d. 1348) in his *"Tārīḥ al-Islām"*⁸² quoted the letter referring to Ibn Wāṣil. Finally a passage from that letter was mentioned also by a fifteenth-century Mamluk historian Al-Aynī⁸³.

Notably the accuracy and authenticity of that letter had been long doubted by scholars considering it a forgery. That opinion

⁷⁹ Imād al-Dīn, *al-Faṭḥ*, p. 262.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 264.

⁸¹ Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarriḡ*, vol. 2, pp. 320-322.

⁸² See al-Dahabī, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 41, ed. by 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī, Dār al-kitāb al-'arabī, Beirut, 1996, pp. 50-52.

⁸³ See al-Aynī, *Iqd*, vol. 2, p. 144.

was shared by L. Ališan and Tournebize: "Here the Arabs tell [the story] differently and deceitfully, - wrote Ališan in this regard, - showing the dissatisfaction of Armenians by the arrival and passing of the Franks through their country. And all of this out of fear or close friendship with Salahēttin. Moreover, they have fabricated a letter on behalf of Grigor, son of Vasil, as if from the Catholicos Grigor Tla to Salahēttin, reporting him as a spy about the number of the Frankish army."⁸⁴ However, thorough and multifaceted examination of the sources over the course of time removed that hypothesis from the scholarly circulation. Beginning with Grigor Mikaelyan⁸⁵ all scholars dealing with that issue (H. Nalbandyan⁸⁶, H. Kyurdian⁸⁷, V. Ter-Ghevondian⁸⁸, A.-Cl. Mutfian⁸⁹, et al.) considered that the authenticity of the letter is undeniable, moreover it is a "unique sample of Cilician diplomacy". Having quickly oriented in a complicated political situation, the Armenian prince Levon and Catholicos Grigor actually dared to hold negotiations of friendship and peace simultaneously with both hostile parties. Closely following the development of events and insuring themselves

⁸⁴ Ališan L., *Sisuan: Hamagrut'iwn Haykakan Kilikioy ew Lewon Mecagorc* (Description of Armenian Cilicia and Levon the Magnificent), Venice, 1885, p. 447 (in Armenian). Cf. Tournebize Fr., *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie, depuis les origines des Arméniens jusqu'à la mort de leur dernier roi (l'an 1393)*, Paris, 1910, p. 185.

⁸⁵ Mikaeljan G.G., *Istoriya Kilikijskogo Armjanskogo gosudarstva* (History of the Cilician Armenian State), Yerevan, 1959, pp. 145-147 (in Russian).

⁸⁶ Nalbandyan, *Arabakan albyurnerā*, pp. 302-303.

⁸⁷ K'iwrtean Y., *Grigor Tlay ew Salah ēd-Tin* (Grigor Tlay and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn), *Bazmavep*, 1975, № 1-2, p. 172 (in Armenian).

⁸⁸ See above Ter-Lewondyan V.A., *Kilikyan Hayastani artak'in k'alak'akanut'yuna*, pp. 118-128.

⁸⁹ Mutfian, *L'Arménie*, p. 93, as well as *idem*, The brilliant diplomacy of Cilician Armenia, in: *Armenian Cilicia*, ed. by Richard G. Hovhannisian and S. Payaslian, Mazda Publishers, 2008, p. 99.

against any unpredictable outcome of their confrontation they, actually, succeeded in keeping the country unshaken and safe from the threat of the conflict between the two mightiest forces of the time.

The third chronologically mention of the Hromkla catholicos in Arabic sources refers to the successor of Grigor Tla catholicos Grigor V K'aravež, or rather to enmity between him and the Armenian prince Levon. Despite Levon's personal preference and support of the youngest of several contenders (Nerses of Lambron, Grigor Apirat, John of Sis) he shortly fell inimical to him since: "Levon hoped to have a more submissive patriarch ready to do whatever he wanted: weak not only by force of his age, but also for having on the chair a person in gratitude to him (this intention according to M. Ormanean laid in the basis of Levon's choice), but Grigor was not what he expected."⁹⁰ Ormanean's observation is confirmed by Smbat the Constable: "And the young catholicos Father Grigoris once he became catholicos did not obey the first among all but maintained his patriarchy autonomously. Then the elder people envied him, wrote to Levon that he had no wisdom to duly exercise his patriarchic powers and said similar spiteful things about him for three or four times until baron Levon sided with them."⁹¹ Finally, by order of the Prince Levon and by the hand of Bishop John of Sis, Grigor was arrested and thrown to jail in the fortress of Kopitar. He made an unsuccessful attempt to flee from the fortress on a piece of linen ("ktav") as advised by the faithful residents of Hromkla, but "fell from the cliffs of the castle of Kopitar (hence his nickname K'aravež – G. D.), and rests in

⁹⁰ Ormanean M., *Azgapatum*, vol. 1, column 1501.

⁹¹ See Smbat, *Taregirk'*, 1859, p. 106. Cf. *idem*, *Taregirk'*, 1956, p. 205.

Drazark."⁹² Meanwhile it is not excluded that the assassination of the catholicos was a plot organized by Levon or some of his loyal bishops. According to Kirakos Ganjakec'i "and some were saying that certain envious bishops that had an eye to inherit the throne threw him [over the wall]."⁹³ Likewise the author of the anonymous Syriac chronicle of 1234 supposed that those who wished to free the catholicos from Kopitar had actually joined in the conspiracy trying to represent the murder as an accident."⁹⁴

Interestingly the conflict between Levon and K'aravež was also reflected in Arabic historiography. We find a small but exclusive piece of information in a twelfth-century anonymous chronicle "*al-Bustān al-ġami'*" (sometimes also attributed to Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī). Under the year 590 A. H. (1193/1194) the Anonymous chronicler wrote: "*In that year the Armenian baṭrīq died and the son of his brother took his place but Ibn Lāwun schemed against him and seized the catholicosate from his hands*". Even though the chronicler didn't mention names, it is clear that K'aravež is implied⁹⁵.

There is another story preserved in the Arabic historiography on the complicated relations between the Armenian prince and the catholicos of Hromkla. It is recorded in Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī's "*Mu'ġam al-buldān*" under the article on "*Qal'at al-Rūm*". Contrary to the Armenian historians that indicate no reason for enmity

⁹² See Samuēl Anec'i ev šarunakolner, *Žamanakagrut'iwn* (the continuation by Step'annos Orbelean), p. 232 and *MŽ*, vol. 1, p. 35. A more detailed narrative is provided by Smbat, *Taregirk'*, 1859, pp. 106-107 and *idem*, *Taregirk'*, 1956, pp. 205-206.

⁹³ Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (History of Armenia), ed. by A. Melik'-Ohanjanyan, Yerevan, 1961, pp. 148.

⁹⁴ Ananun Yedesac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 192.

⁹⁵ See Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (attributed), *al-Bustān al-ġami' li-ġami' tawārīḥ ahl al-zamān*, ed. by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Ṭa'ānī, Irbid, 2003, p. 445.

between Levon and K'aravež, the Arab historian explains the hostile relations between the Armenian prince and the catholicos of Hromkla by Levon's "weakness for women."⁹⁶ Thus, he wrote: "From earliest times onwards the catholicos who occupied the patriarchate was elected from the clan of David (*wald Dāwud*), peace be upon him (*'alayhi al-salām*). The sign testifying about it was the length of their hands, since when they were standing straight with their hands stretched [down], they would necessarily overlap the knees. About year 610 A.H. the Armenian king Layūn ibn Layūn who was ruling over the lands adjoining the Syrian ones— Msis, Tarson and Adana, became hated by Armenians. Because when he entered a village or province, he called one of the [local] girls to himself and shared his bed with her at night, and when he desired to leave, he released her sending back to her relatives. The Armenians complained to Catholicos about it"⁹⁷. Yāqūt continues that the Catholicos appealed to the king, saying that his behavior is unacceptable for the Christian faith and only if he does not consider himself a follower of Christianity, he could behave as he wishes. At first the king promised to follow the patriarch's admonition but a while later complaints against him became frequent again. After warning him once more the Patriarch was compelled to excommunicate the king. The soldiers and subjects and even his wife turned their face away from him. Being embarrassed by the situation the king pretended to regret and wished to publicly apologize and get the anathema lifted. Yāqūt adds: "And the Catholicos was deceived and going to him released

⁹⁶ The unique evidence of this "weakness" of Levon belongs to Kirakos Ganjakec'i: "And thus pious Levon strengthened his kingdom with improvements and he was most excellent in everything except in one - he was a philanderer". See Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Patmut' iwn Hayoc'*, p. 159.

⁹⁷ See Yāqūt, *Mu'ğam*, vol. 4, p. 391: See also Nalbandyan's translation: Nalbandyan, *Arabakan albyurnera*, pp. 100-101.

him from the curse in the presence of many. But when the meeting was dispersed, Layūn caught his hand and they ascended the [citadel], and that was the last time when he was seen. Then he ordered to bring one of his relatives, who seemed to be the son of his maternal uncle or someone like that, already a cleric, and sending him to the castle (Hromkla) made him a catholicos, and he is there until now. This is how the catholicosate of the clan of Āl Dāwud was interrupted. I am aware that no one of them has remained in those places to replace him. Maybe only in the side of Ahlāt there is a group of people from their kin. Allah knows better."⁹⁸

Thus, the chronicler places these events within the year 610 AH (1213/1214). Besides it, he considered the "disappeared" religious leader to have been "the last representative from the clan of David", with most probably pointing to the Pahlavuni clan. It is worth noting that in 1213 the Armenian Catholicos was John VI, meanwhile the last catholicos from the Pahlavuni family was Grigor VI Apirat. However, according to Hakob Nalbandyan the description by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī is more or less related to the conflict between Levon and K'aravež mentioned above.⁹⁹ Recently A.-C. Mutaḥfian, while arguing Nalbandyan's opinion on the discussed point has identified the aforementioned catholicos with the archbishop of Mamestia (Msis) Davit' Ark'akałnec'i who in 1207-1211, i.e. during his conflict with John VI, was recognized by Levon as catholicos at Sis. In fact, the passage by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī quoting the "David's clan" was artificially connected by Mutaḥfian with the mentioned Davit' Ark'akałnec'i¹⁰⁰. Whatever, Mutaḥfian's conclusion is not supported by Arab chroniclers,

⁹⁸ See Yāqūt, *Mu'ğam*, vol. 4, p. 391.

⁹⁹ See Nalbandyan, *Arabakan albyurnera*, pp. 192-193.

¹⁰⁰ See Mutaḥfian, *L'Armenie*, p. 513.

especially by Ibn Abī Ṭayy (d. 1229-1233) from Aleppo who was a contemporary of Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī. Although the work of Ibn Abī Ṭayy has not come down to us, nevertheless a number of passages from it were borrowed by Ibn al-Furāt in his work¹⁰¹. The latter, while talking about Vahram Pahlavuni, wrote: "Bahram became a vizier of al-Ḥāfiḍ. Bahram was an Armenian originating from those Armenians that settled in Ḥromkla in Lower Syria (*al-Shām al-asfal*), and where "the Armenian vicar" (in the text *ḥilf al-arman*, must be a scribal mistake for *ḥalīfat al-arman*) resided. He insisted that he descended from David's lineage.... There is an Armenian clan which so insist. Their main distinguishing feature was if a man stood straight keeping his hands downwards they would necessarily reach his knees, and if he would turn them towards his back, they would necessarily touch each other".¹⁰²

Nonetheless, this is not the only case of using the aforementioned expression in Arabic historiography. Ibn al-Ṭuwayr (d. 1220), a contemporary of Ibn Abī Ṭayy, left us a work entitled *Nuzhat al-muqlatayn fī aḥbār al-dawlatayn* ("Stroll of the two eyes through the accounts of the two dynasties"). There is a passage in it telling that: "Among the Armenians, the men of his (here, Bahram's – G.D.) clan (*ahl baytihi fī al-arman*) have a distinguished feature, particularly, if a man stood straight having his hands down then

¹⁰¹ Apart from Ibn al-Furāt's narration some valuable fragments deriving from Ibn Abī Ṭayy's work can also be found in Abū Šāma. See more on Ibn Abī Ṭayy in Cahen Cl., Ibn Abī Ṭayyī', in: *Et*², vol. III, H-IRAM, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1986, p. 693.

¹⁰² The second volume by Ibn al-Furāt which contains the borrowed from Ibn Abī Ṭayy information, was edited by M. Shayyāl in his doctoral dissertation. See Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, vol. 2, ed. by Muḥammad Farīd al-Shayyāl (A critical edition of Volume II of *Tārīkh al-duwal wa'l mulūk* by Muḥammad b. 'Alī ibn al-Furāt, University of Edinburgh, 1986, pp. 153-154 (pp. 253-254)).

they would necessarily cover his knees".¹⁰³ It is difficult to explain why *Pahlavunis* were perceived by Muslim authors as representatives of *David's clan* and why they considered that them to be long-armed men. It is a well known fact recorded in the medieval Georgian historiography that the Zak'arids (in Georgian *Mkhargrdzeli*) were another dynasty characterized by the same name.

If even the reports by Ibn Abī Ṭayy and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr come to confirm the hypothesis by Nalbandyan, nevertheless, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī's story should in no way be regarded as a description of a sole event or certain episode, but rather to be considered as a reflection to the severe rivalry that from time to time took place between the civic and religious powers of Armenian Cilicia.

Compared to the time of Levon I the Magnificent (Mecagorç), relations between Sis and Ḥromkla during the long reign of Het'um I (1226-1269) and the patriarchy of Kostandin I of Barjberd - who occupied "Gregory the Illuminator's throne" after the death of John VI had been much smoother. In one of Armenian redactions of Patriarch Michael the Syrian's "Chronography" the election of Kostandin is described with extreme ardor: "And then by unanimity of all princes and bishops Kostandin, who was the bishop of Mlij, was elected as chief priest. ...and there was universal joy for he was known by everyone for his virtuous, good and peace loving mind."¹⁰⁴ Stating that Kostandin I of Barjberd had

¹⁰³ See Ibn Ṭuwayr, *Nuzhat al-muqlatayn fī aḥbār al-dawlatayn*, ed. by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, Beirut, 1992, p. 43. Chronologically the latest author who retained information on "David's clan" was al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442). In his bibliographical dictionary entitled "*Kitāb al-muqaffā*" al-Maqrīzī wrote on Bahram: "He states that [he] was from David's clan, peace upon him. He derived from those Armenians who came to Diyār Muḍar (Diyār Muḍar is identical to Upper Mesopotamia) from Ḥromkla". See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, vol. 2, pp. 512-513.

¹⁰⁴ Mixayēl Asori, *Žamanakagrut' iwn*, 1870, pp. 523-524. Cf. *idem*, 1871, p. 517.

been elected chief priest due to the protection and intercession of Kostandin Payl and the Armenian king, Kirakos Ganjakec'i still remembers the catholicos by good and warm words as "*a man of virtue and humility and of blessed behavior who conducted himself by goodness and regulated the order of the Church with orthodoxy*."¹⁰⁵ Ganjakec'i continues that Kostandin was respected not only by Armenians and generally Christians "*but also by the Tačik nation*" (i.e. Muslims or Arabs). There was a case when the three sultans came to the border of the town named Hromkla where the catholicossal see was on the Euphrates river. And Catholicos went to meet the sultans."¹⁰⁶ When Muslim rulers heard about his coming, they came out to solemnly greet him; they set an ornate tent for him amid the three sultans' tents and only after several days of honoring him saw him off to Hromkla with great gifts and glory, presenting even villages and estates. At the first glance this doubtlessly exaggerated story of Ganjakec'i sounds like fiction. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the historian even lists the names of the three sultans: Melik Kēml ("who ruled in Egypt"), Melik Ašrap' ("who ruled over the major part of Armenia and Mesopotamia") and the son of their brother ("who ruled in Damascus")¹⁰⁷. The first of them was the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt *al-Malik al-Kāmil* (1218-1238); the second, his brother, *al-Malik al-Ašraf Mūsā*, at first the ruler of Ġazīra and Ḥlat, then in 1229-1237 the sultan of Damascus; and their nephew, most probably al-Nāšir Dāwūd (1227-1229), the son of their brother *al-Mu'addam 'Isā Šaraf al-Dīn Ayyūbī*, ruler of Damascus (1218-1227), who reigned for only two years after the death of his father being forced to surrender the throne to *al-Ašraf Mūsā*. While interesting, this infor-

¹⁰⁵ Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, pp. 190-191.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

mation from the Armenian historian is not corroborated by any other Arabic or Armenian source.

The next mention of the Hromkla catholicosate in the Muslim sources is connected with the description of events that happened four decades later.

Serious geo-political shifts taking place in the Near East in the middle of the 13th century resulted in change to the political map and a new correlation of powers. Thus, under the reign of al-Šaliḥ Nağm al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (1240-1249) - the last influential representative of the dynasty founded by Šalāḥ al-Dīn the Mamlūks (Arab. literally "thing possessed", hence "slave", "servant") consisting mainly of Turkic-Kipčaq tribes that were domineering in the Ayyubid army since the very beginning, received even greater privileges, began claiming for power after his death and in a short time by force of favorable circumstances one of their influential groups - headed by *al-Baḥriyya* (or *al-Baḥriyya al-Šāliḥiyya*) appeared at the rule of the country. Although it took the Mamluks over ten years to put their power on stable basis, still the date of establishment of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt (1250-1516) is considered to be 1250.

Another invincible force emerging in the meantime on the political arena of the region were the Mongols led by Genghis Khān (Temučin) who had already invaded the Central Asia and the Near East in the '20s of the 13th century. His sons and grandsons, continuing the expansion after the death of the World-Conqueror, split the empire to several autonomous states (uluses). During that time the Mongol rule established in Georgia, major parts of Greater Armenia and Atropatene. In 1243 after the heavy defeat suffered at the battle of Köse Dağ the Seljuqs of Rūm also surrendered to the Mongols. Diplomatic missions to the courts of Güyük Khān (1246-1248) and Möngke Khān (1251-1259) headed respectively by Smbat the Constable (1248) and king Het'um (1254) were the

pledge of allegiance of the Cilician Armenian kingdom to Mongol domination. During the reign of Möngke Khān his brother Hülegü finally conquered Iran and founded the Mongol Ilkhanate (1256-1335). After neutralizing the Ismailites of Alamut (1256) and capturing Bagdad (1258) Hülegü was ready to invade Syria.

The start of Hülegü's Syrian campaign was given in 658 A. H. (1259-1260) when, leading the Mongol troops supplemented by Armenian, Georgian and Seljuq forces, he approached the Euphrates¹⁰⁸. In the Arabic version of the "Chronography" (*Al-Muḥtaṣar fī [tārīḥ] al-duwal*) of the maphrian of the Syriac Jacobite church Bar Hebraeus these events are described as follows: "In 658 [A.H.], the Ilkhan of Syria Hülegü accompanied by an army of 400 thousand besieged Harrān and occupied it under "safe-conduct" (*amān*)¹⁰⁹ Then he moved forward and made a bridge to be built over the Euphrates near the town of Malatia, and another bridge near Qal'at al-Rūm, still another near Qarqīsyā (Osroene), by which the troops crossed the river and organized a great slaughter in Manbiḡ."¹¹⁰ The same report is available also in the Syriac version of his "Chronography" with the only difference that a bridge near

al-Bīra is also mentioned¹¹¹. The evidence of the Syrian chronicler is confirmed by "al-Ḥawādīṭ al-ḡāmi'a" attributed to an eyewitness of the Mongol invasion, a Bagdadi chronicler Ibn al-Fuwaṭī: "Then the sultan (Hülegü) issued an order to make three bridges on the Euphrates: one near Malatia, the other near al-Bīra, still another – near Qal'at al-Rūm and headed towards al-Ḡazīra with his innumerable troops and occupied it under a safe-conduct (*amān*)."¹¹² Building of bridges across the Euphrates is mentioned also by Ibn Kaṭīr, an Arab historian of later period, though without indicating exact locations¹¹³. Interestingly, according to several Armenian sources Catholicos Kostandin met with Hülegü and blessed him. Vardan Arevelc'i, for instance, wrote: "In year seven hundred and eight Hülegü marched to the land of Mesopotamia... The Patriarch of the Armenians, the catholicos, went out to meet him and blessed him and was respected by him likewise."¹¹⁴

The Mongol army crossing the Euphrates near Hromkla seemed to have left a strong impression on its inhabitants. This is evidenced by the images of several Mongols with a note beside: "and the Tatar came today" on a scene of the adoration of the Magi in the Gospel from Hromkla illustrated by Toros Roslin in 1260¹¹⁵. The colophon of that manuscript reads: "... my manuscript was completed... in the tyranny of the Great lord named *Manku* (Möngke) and the world conqueror *Hoḡayun* (Hülegü), his brother, in the

¹⁰⁸ See Amitai-Preiss R., *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhānid war, 1260-1281*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, p. 26. According to Ibn Wāṣil: "At the beginning of this year Hülegü, king of the Tatars, crossed-passed the Euphrates with an innumerable army consisting of the Tatars, Persians, Georgians and other peoples." See Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarriḡ*, vol. 6, p. 10. Under "other people" the chronicler implied also Armenians.

¹⁰⁹ *Amān* was a promise of truce, peace, protection, a guarantee or a safe conduct against the obedience. See about that institute Schacht J., *Amān*, in: *EF*², vol. 1, pp. 429-430, as well as Wansbrough J., *The Safe-Conduct in Muslim Chancery Practice, BSOAS*, vol. 34, № 1 (1971), pp. 20-35.

¹¹⁰ See Ibn al-ʿIbrī, *Tārīḥ muḥtaṣar [fī] al-duwal*, ed. by Anṭūn Ṣāliḥānī al-Yasūʿī, Dār al-Rāʾid al-Lubnānī, Beirut, 1994, p. 279.

¹¹¹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 435.

¹¹² See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādīṭ al-ḡāmi'a*, pp. 243-244. For the debatable authorship of the work see Rosenthal F., Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, in: *EF*², vol. 3, p. 769.

¹¹³ Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāya*, vol. 17, p. 395.

¹¹⁴ See Vardan, *Hawak'umn patmutedan*, p. 151. Cf. *MŽ*, vol. 2, pp. 143, 176, as well as Mutafian, *L'Arménie*, p. 146; Bayarsaikhan D., *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220-1335)*, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2011, p. 137.

¹¹⁵ See Manuscript № 251 (Gospel), Collection of manuscripts of St. Jacob Monastery in Jerusalem, fol. 15b; Mutafian, *L'Arménie*, p. 147.

reign of God-loving and pious king of Armenia Het'um and in the time when the famed city of Halp (Aleppo) and all of his cities and fortresses were taken."¹¹⁶

In one of our former publications we have already discussed some interesting information from the Muslim sources containing details of the Mongols' "Syrian campaign" and, particularly, the role of the Armenian troops and the Armenian king in that campaign¹¹⁷. Therefore, we should only state the results of the first serious military confrontation between the Mamluks and Mongols. Despite Hülegü's relative success at the beginning, as a whole his Syrian campaign ended ingloriously. Thus, the unified forces under his command captured Aleppo and advanced to Damascus meeting no resistance but the further progress of the Mongol troops was suspended because of the sudden death of the Great Mongol Khan Möngke and the dispute over the enthronement of a new khān in Karakorum. So intending to leave for Karakorum Hülegü withdrew to Iran with the majority of the Mongol army. Ilkhan entrusted the command of the remaining forces and the security of the newly conquered lands to his army commander named Kitbuğa who soon decided to continue the campaign to Egypt. Meanwhile the withdrawal of the majority of Mongol troops enabled the sultan of Egypt Sayf al-Dīn Qutuz (1259-1260) to awaken the Mamluks from the shock caused by the victorious advance of the Mongol army deemed to be invincible and break through the situation. Attacking first at 'Ayn Ġālūt (Spring of Goliath) Qutuz inflicted an utter defeat to the Mongols and their allied forces on the 25th of Ramaḍān, 1260 (September 3, 1260). Kitbuğa fell in the battle.

¹¹⁶ *HJH*, XIII c., p. 301.

¹¹⁷ See **Danielyan G.**, Mamluk'yan Sult'anut'yan ew Kilikyan Hayastani hakamtut'yan akunk'nerə (Origins of the conflict between the Mamluk Sultanate and Cilician Armenia), *VĒM pan-armenian journal*, № № 1 (49), January-March, 2015, pp. 141-154 (in Armenian).

Hülegü was forced to forget for a time about conquering Syria and had to focus on the relations with Berke khān of Ġochi ulus (Golden Horde) which were on the brink of war. Qutuz did not enjoy his victory for long either, falling as a result of coup, and al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī (1260-1277) was enthroned in his stead.

Such an outcome resulted in a dangerous situation for Cilician Armenia. Alliance with the Mongols enabled the Armenian king to expand his territory and take hold of the lands once belonging to *Goł Vasil*¹¹⁸. But after the retreat of Hülegü that very alliance drove a wedge into Armenian-Mamluk relations and turned into a threat for the Armenian kingdom. According to the colophon of the Lectionary of prince Het'um (1286): "With the help of God and assistance of the Mughal (Mongol) troop he (Het'um) took great Germanikeia (Marash) and Pehesni."¹¹⁹ By these acquisitions,

¹¹⁸ See **Cahen Cl.**, *La Syrie*, p. 705; **Der Nersessian**, *The Kingdom*, p. 653; **Canard M.**, *Le Royaume d'Arménie-Cilicie et de Mamelouks jusqu'au traité de 1285*, *REA*, 1967, p. 222.

¹¹⁹ See **Matenadaran**, *Manuscript № 979* (Čašoc'), fol. 475a, as well as *HJH*, XIII c., p. 587. Cf. *Het'um, patmič' t'at'arac'* (Het'um, the Historian of the Tatars), jeleal i latin orinakē i hay barbar i jein H. Mkrtič' at'orakal vardapeti Awgerean (translated from the Latin original to Armenian by F. Mkrtich archimandrite Awgerean), Venice, 1842, p. 46 (in Armenian), see also the Old French and Latin originals of the latter: **Hayton**, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient*, in: *Recueil des Historiens des croisades, Documents Arméniens*, t. II, Paris, 1906, p. 171, 302. Cf. **Vahrama Rabunwoy Votanawor patmut'iwn Rubeneanc'** (Versified history of the Rubenids), ed. and annot. by **Karapet Vardapet Šahnazareanc'**, Paris, 1859, p. 220 (in Armenian). See about it also **Cahen**, *La Syrie*, p. 705; **Boase**, *The Cilician Kingdom*, p. 26; **Mikaeljan G.G.**, *Istoriya*, p. 333; **Mutafian**, *L'Arménie*, p. 149; **Stewart**, *The Armenian Kingdom*, pp. 46-47, n. 10. For the fortresses that passed under the control of the Armenian kingdom after the campaign of Hülegü see also **al-Ġazārī**, *Hawadit*, vol. 1, p. 149; Cf. **al-Dahabī**, *al-Muhtār*, p. 358; **Mufaḍḍal**, *al-Nahğ* (14), p. 558 [394]; **al-Nuwayrī**,

the borders of the Armenian kingdom actually reached the Euphrates. Accordingly, the Armenian Patriarchal See of Hromkla was for the first time geographically connected to the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia¹²⁰. However, this situation did not last long. Most probably the Mamluks' overreaction in 1262-1264 was caused by provocative actions of the Armenian king connected with the unsuccessful raids to Syrian settlements (Ma'arrat Mişrin, Sarmīn, al-Fū'a, Ayntab, etc.) undertaken on Hülegü's pittings¹²¹.

In the month of Ramaḍān, 1264 already the sultan received news from al-Bīra that "Şārim al-Dīn Baktaş al-Zāhidī with his troops attacked the gates of *Qal'at al-Rūm* assaulting it for several times¹²². This incident was the first attempt of the Mamluks to intrude into the area under the Ilkhanid domination and notably targeted the Armenian Catholicosate situated on the frontier of the two states. On the other hand, it was only a prelude to the punitive actions and trials prepared by sultan Baybars for the Armenian king in expectation of the time to come. The Mamluk sultan lost his patience probably in December-February of 1264-1265 when the Mongols (numbering 1 tuman, i.e. 10 000 men) led by a commander named Durbāy tried to capture al-Bīra (Arm. Pir), the

fortress of great strategic importance¹²³. In conformity with Smbat Sparapet the Mongol commander called for the Armenian king to participate in the siege of the fortress though the latter was at that time (January 6) celebrating Christmas at the fortress of Tel Hamdun. The king agreed and moved at the head of a huge army to assist the Mongols. "*And then the news of return of Turpay from Pir reached the king because the sultan of Egypt was coming on him. When the king heard it, he returned home.*"¹²⁴ Besides the advance of the sultan's troops the other reason of the sudden withdrawal of the Mongol troops might be the news of Hülegü's death (February 8, 1265). The Ilkhanid throne passed to his son Abaqa (1265-1282) who, being preoccupied with the war against the Golden Horde, was compelled to temporarily suspend Mongol-Mamluk encounters. The sultan of Egypt took advantage of the good opportunity to clarify relations with the Armenian king. After the failure of several diplomatic missions, Het'um refused to meet the sultan's demands for the fear of the Mongols' retaliation. In May 1266, when Baybars was besieging Safad, the envoys of the "Lord of Sis" arrived to him with gifts, which he declined to accept, refusing even to take the letter brought with them¹²⁵. It

Nihāya, vol. 31, p. 157; *Ibn al-Dawādārī*, *Kanz*, vol. 8, p. 341; *Ibn al-Furāt*, *al-Duwal*, vol. 8, pp. 155-156.

¹²⁰ *Raphael*, *Muslim fortresses*, p. 186.

¹²¹ On these campaigns of Het'um see in detail: *Canard M.*, *Le Royaume*, p. 224-227, also *Amitai*, In the aftermath of 'Ayn Jalūt: The beginnings of the Mamlūk-Ilkhānid cold war, *Al-Masāq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean*, vol. 3.1, 1990, pp. 10-12 and *Şawkat Ramaḍān Huḡḡa*, *al-'Ālāqāt bayna dawlat al-mamālīk al-ūlā wa-dawlat ilkhaniyya fāris fī 'ahd al-sultān al-Zāhir Baybars*, 648-736 h. / 1250-1335 m., 'Amān, 2011, p. 195-196.

¹²² *Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir*, *al-Rawḍ*, p. 201; *al-Maqrīzī*, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.1, p. 513.

¹²³ See *Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir*, *al-Rawḍ*, pp. 221-225; *Baybars al-Manşūrī*, *Zubda*, p. 95; *al-Maqrīzī*, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.2, pp. 523-525. See also *Amitai*, *Mongols*, pp. 112-113.

¹²⁴ *Smbat*, *Taregirk'*, 1956, pp. 243-244.

¹²⁵ See *Al-Yūnīnī*, *Ḍayl Mirāt al-zamān*, *al-tab'a al-ūlā*, vol. 2, Maṭba'at Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uṡmāniyya, Ḥaydarābad, 1955, p. 343, also *Ibn Taḡrī Birdī*, *al-Nuḡūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Mişr wa-l-Qāhira*, vol. 7, ed. by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Şams al-Dīn, Dār al-Kutub al-'ilmiyya, Beirut, 1992, p. 125. There is an evidence of Şāfi' ibn 'Alī about one of those failed diplomatic missions. According to him, there was a dispute between the two envoys appearing before the sultan with precious gifts and a plea for truce and one of them stabbed the other and Baybars ordered to hang the first envoy. See *Şāfi' ibn 'Alī*, *Ḥusn al-manāqib al-sirriyya al-muntaz'a min al-sīra al-Zāhiriyya*, ed. by 'Abd al-'Azīz

became evident that the Armenian kingdom had no way to avoid the strike by the lord of Egypt. Actually, the consequences of the large campaign to Cilicia organized by the sultan in August of 1266 had been disastrous for Armenians. In the decisive battle of Maṛi the Armenian army suffered a terrible defeat. According to the biographer of Baybars, Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir: "...the troops climbed to the tops of the mountains and when the sides came face to face (*waqa'at al-'ayn fī al-'ayn* - in original) baron Levon, the king, was captured, his brother (Toros) was killed as well as his paternal uncle. The Constable (al-Kundāṣṭabl) – the other uncle was defeated and withdrew¹²⁶. The Mamluk armies spread real horror all over the country looting Msis, Adana, Ayas and other small and large settlements. At that disastrous time for the country, the Catholicos of Hromkla Kostandin also passed away. Vardan Arevelc'i wrote about his death as follows: "We have passed through various trials of fire and water, burning and suffocating traps. He (i.e. Kostandin) had to taste the dense and bitter last dregs to the end of his life: the shaking of our kingdom, the sword and captivity of his own land, where he was born and nourished, the entry into the trial of the flame of the furnace of Gehenna, the loss of king's sons nurtured by him: All these [events] made his death closer".¹²⁷

However, to free his son from captivity the Armenian king began negotiating with the sultan. After long diplomatic maneuvers, Het'um finally accepted the demands of Baybars. Under the Armenian-Mamluk peace treaty signed in 1268 in newly conquered Antioch Het'um committed himself, for the freedom of his son, not only to release from the Mongol captivity a close friend of the

sultan - a Mamluk named Sunqur al-Ašqar, but also to make significant territorial concessions including the return to the Sultanate of a number of important frontier fortresses (Behesna, Darbsāk, Marz[a]bān, Raban, al-Zarb and Šiḥ al-Ḥadīd), which he captured during the Mongol campaign of 1260¹²⁸. Although during the next two decades the said fortresses changed hands many times, these territorial losses practically isolated Hromkla from the territory of the Armenian kingdom¹²⁹. Such was the result of the Armenian-Mongol alliance and participation of the Armenian king in Hülegü's Syrian campaign. This is implied by a Mamluk historian Ibn Kaṭīr writing that "by that campaign the Mamluks took revenge of Armenians for Islam and Muslims since they were the most harmful for Muslims in the Mongol times. When they captured Aleppo and other cities, they took prisoner large numbers of Muslim women and children, and after it in the days of Hülegü they were regularly raiding the Muslim lands."¹³⁰

The new catholicos Jacob of Kīla, "a holy and virtuous man and very knowledgeable"¹³¹, was elected at the beginning of 1268 in Msis. In June of the same year after the release of prince Levon, king Het'um resolved to abdicate the throne and with the consent of Ilkhān Abaqa conferred the actual rule of the country onto his son¹³². Then, taking the clerical name of Makar, he retired to a monastery where, according to Armenian sources, he died on October 28, 1270¹³³. However, the Arab historians indicate another

ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥuwaytīr, al-Riyāḍ, 1989, p. 157.

¹²⁶ See Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ*, p. 260. Cf. 'Izz al-Dīn ibn Šaddād, *al-A'lāq*, vol. 1.2, p. 343; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, p. 105; Smbat, *Taregirk'*, 1956, p. 247.

¹²⁷ Vardan, *Hawak'umn patmutedan*, p. 164.

¹²⁸ See al-Yūnīnī, *Dayl*, vol. 2, p. 385; Abū al-Fidā', *al-Muḥtaṣar*, vol. 4, p. 5; 'Izz al-Dīn ibn Šaddād, *al-A'lāq*, vol. 1, p. 119. See also Cahen, *La Syrie*, p. 718.

¹²⁹ Raphael, *Muslim Fortresses*, p. 186.

¹³⁰ See Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāya*, vol. 17, p. 466.

¹³¹ Samuēl Anec'i ev šarunakolner: *Žamanakagrut' iwn*, p. 253.

¹³² See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 448.

¹³³ See MŽ, vol. 2, p. 167 (the dates of the Arabic authors are converted wrong-

date – the 7th of November. For instance, al-Nuwayrī wrote: “That year (669 A. H.) died the lord of Sis, Het’um, the son of Kostandin, and the notification of his son Levon, that on the 25th day of Tišrīn al-awwal (October 25) his father had become a cleric and went to the monastery leaving the worldly affairs, was received on the 27th of the month of Rābī’ I (November 13). He died on the sunset of the 21st of the month of Rābī’ I (November 7). In the contents of the [letter] he sought the condolence of the sultan for him. He (the sultan) wrote to him condoling with his father’s death, as well as congratulating on the occasion of becoming a king and wishing him a healthy heart (*iṭābat qalbihi*)”¹³⁴.

On January 6, 1271 Catholicos Jacob in the Cathedral of St. Sophia of Tarsus consecrated Levon king of Cilician Armenia (1271-1289)¹³⁵. Being like-minded and an aid to Kostandin of Barjraberd Jacob I successfully continued the cause of his patron as a devoted adherent and supporter of the autocephaly and traditions of the Armenian Church. Leaving unanswered the invitation of the Pope of Rome Gregory X to participate in the Second Ecumenical Council in Lyon in 1271 he “avoided the danger of the Church union and kept the dogma of Armenian faith free and unmixed.”¹³⁶

fully); *HJH*, XIII c., p. 409. Cf. Smbat, *Taregirk’*, 1956, p. 252; *Samuēli Anec’woy Hawak’munk’ i groc’ patmagrac’* (Collection of the historians’ writings), yaṛajabanov, hamematut’eamb, yaweluacnerov ew caot’ut’iwnnerov Aršak Tēr-Mik’elyani, Valaṛšapat, 1892, p. 222 (text of “Hamaṛot patmut’yun Rubinean iṣxnac”) (A concise history of the Rubenid princes); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 449. See also Ter-Petrosian, *Xač’akirnera ev hayera*, vol. 2, p. 296 and Mutaṛfian, *L’Armenie*, p. 160, n. 7.

¹³⁴ Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, vol. 30, p. 111. Cf. Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ*, p. 374; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, p. 132, as well as Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *al-Tuḥfa*, p. 72; Abū al-Fidā, *al-Muḥtaṣar*, vol. 4, p. 6-7; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.2, p. 590; al-Aynī, *‘Iqd*, vol. 2, p. 88.

¹³⁵ Vahram Rabuni, *Votanawor patmut’iwn*, p. 228.

¹³⁶ Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, vol. 2, columns 1683-1684. Cf. Ĵino Ariggi, Hakob

Levon’s reign did not lift the tensions in Armenian-Mamluk relations. The continuing interaction with the Mongols and incessant negotiations with the West, plus the sharp rise of the role of the Armenian port Ayas in Near Eastern trade made Baybars think about organizing a new campaign to Cilicia. In the meantime there was also a dangerous turmoil in the country’s inner political situation when a number of pro-Latin noblemen made a plot against Levon II, attempting to dethrone him¹³⁷.

According to Smbat Sparapet, Baybars already attempted to invade Cilicia in 1271 but the envoys sent to meet the sultan managed to convince him to return¹³⁸. Meanwhile the Arabic sources date the first clashes between Levon and Baybars by 1273 when the Mamluks headed by the amir of Aleppo *Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ayntabī* occupied the fortress of Kaynūk (or *al-Ḥadaṭ al-Ḥamrā*)¹³⁹ located on the Syrian borderline. But this was just an incident as compared with the mighty blow to be given by Baybars to the Armenian kingdom¹⁴⁰. The Mamluk troops invaded Cilicia in the spring of

Klayec’in Lukkayum (Jacob of Kīa in Lucca), *HPJ*, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 107-114.

¹³⁷ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 449.

¹³⁸ Smbat, *Taregirk’*, 1956, p. 253. Cf. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols*, pp. 133-134.

¹³⁹ According to Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, it was caused by the regular attacks of the fortress residents on the merchants and envoys (*quṣṣād*) passing there. The sultan warned the lord of Sis about this but his letter was of no effect. According to him, while attacking the caravans, the Armenians wore Mongol hats - *sarāqūg* to resemble the Mongols. See Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ*, p. 417. Cf. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols*, pp. 131-132; Canard, *Le Royaume*, p. 237-238.

¹⁴⁰ Bar Hebraeus stated that the reason of breaking into a new war was the arrest of a group of the Sufi dervishes (*faqīr*) on their pilgrimage to the tomb of caliph Ma’mūn. According to the Syrian historian there were suspicions that disguised among them was Baybars. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 452. The Mamluk historians list several reasons for these campaigns. Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir wrote: “The lord of Sis stopped sending taxes imposed on him and besides he violated the terms of the truce treaty providing that he should not rebuild and

1275, giving the country over to fire and sword. Msis, capital Sis, Tarsus, Ayas and other large and small settlements were utterly looted. In April of the same year, the Mamluk troops withdrew from Cilicia and set a camp near Hārim to distribute the rich booty¹⁴¹. Next year (1276) the Mamluks (in alliance with the Turks) assaulted Cilicia again, this time from the direction of Mar'aš. Levon's forces were enough to repulse an attack although Smbat the Constable and many other noblemen fell in the decisive battle of Sarvandikar¹⁴².

fortify any fortress. He also began failing to provide accurate information, which he also should do under the given oath. Besides he made Armenians wear sarāqūg thus terrifying the caravans and insisting that they were of the khan's troops." See Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ*, p. 432. Cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, vol. 30, p. 216. Another – more substantial reason is mentioned by Ibn Šaddād. According to him, the idea of the campaign to Sis was given to the sultan of Egypt by the vizier of the Sultanate of Iconium Mu'in al-Dīn Sulaymān Parwāna. In the latter's secret (from the Mongols) correspondence with Baybars he promised to make Baybars the lord of the Sultanate of Rūm if he only campaigned to Iconium. But soon the vizier changed his mind and asked the sultan to adjourn the campaign for a year waiting for a better opportunity. Accordingly, he sent another secret letter to Baybars saying: "This year campaign against Sis and the next year I will conquer the country of [Rūm] for you if there is the will of God." See 'Izz al-Dīn ibn Šaddād, *Tārīḥ al-Malik al-Zāhir* (Die Geschichte des Sultans Baibars von 'Izz ad-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Šaddād (st. 684/1285), Herausgegeben von Ahmad Hütait, Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1983), p. 107. Cf. Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 8, pp. 177-178. See in detail for Parwāna: Cahen Cl., *La Turquie pré-ottomane* (Varia Turcica VII), Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes, Istanbul, 1988, pp. 256-270, as well as Hillenbrand C., Mu'in al-Dīn Parwāna. The Servant of Two Masters?, *Miscellanea Arabica et Islamica: Dissertationes in Academia Ultrajectina prolatae anno MCMXC*, ed. by F. De Jong, Peeters Press, Louvain, 1993, pp. 267-274.

¹⁴¹ See Canard, *Le Royaume*, pp. 238-241.

¹⁴² See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 454. Cf. *HJH*, XIII c., p. 463; Samu'el Anec'i, *Hawak'munk*, p. 223 ("A concise history of the Rubenid princes").

In 1277 Baybars al-Bunduqdārī died under suspicious circumstances and was succeeded by a young son of his al-Sa'id Baraka Khān (1277-1279). In 1279, the sultan moved the Egyptian forces to Damascus. Being concerned by limiting the power of two influential court amīrs - Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn al-Alfī (future sultan) and Badr al-Dīn Baysarī, the young sultan sent the above amirs to raid Cilician Armenia to keep them away for a time from the political intrigues until strengthening his position with the help of his personal mamlūks (al-ḥāṣṣakiyya), intending to seize their estates (iqṭā') and arrest them on their return. Each received 10,000 Egyptian and Syrian troops from the sultan¹⁴³. Qalāwūn was ordered to raid Sis, and Baysarī – to capture the Armenian Catholikosate of Hromkla¹⁴⁴. "They moved towards Sīs, full of dissatisfaction (*wa-fī nufūsihim min zalika iḥn*)", - wrote al-Maqrīzī in this regard¹⁴⁵.

Thus, this expedition was conditional on the political situation in the Mamluk Sultanate and did not pursue true expansionist goals¹⁴⁶. Sending the amirs in two different directions the sultan intended to gain time for his plans¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴³ Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, vol. 30, p. 247; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 8, p. 225.

¹⁴⁴ See 'Izz al-Dīn ibn Šaddād, *al-A'lāq*, vol. 1.2, pp. 348-349; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, pp. 166-167, as well as his al-Tuḥfa, p. 88 and Muḥtār al-aḥbār, p. 66. See also al-Yūnīnī, *Ḍayl*, vol. 3, p. 297; Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, vol. 7, pp. 140-141; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols*, p. 180.

¹⁴⁵ See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.2, p. 650.

¹⁴⁶ Al-Birzālī is very laconic about this campaign writing only that it was "for the purpose of looting and robbery". See al-Birzālī, al-Muqtafī, vol. 1, p. 445. In the biography of Qalāwūn, Šāfi' ibn 'Alī wrote that the objective of the Egyptians and Syrians was "capturing Hromkla and looting the country of Sīs". See Šāfi' ibn 'Alī, *al-Faḍl al-ma'tūr fī sirat al-sultān al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. by 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām al-Tadmūrī, al-Maktaba al-'Aṣriyya, Beirut, 1998, p. 40.

¹⁴⁷ Of the Mamluk historians only Šāfi' ibn 'Alī tells that the idea of attacking the Armenian territories was proposed to al-Sa'id Baraka Khan by Qalāwūn. See

According to Ibn Šaddād, at first Baysarī surrounded Hromkla. A few days later, the Mamluk amir sent a letter to the sultan reporting that the “lord of Sis” had sent envoys to him suggesting a payment of 200 thousand dirhams for leaving his country untouched. After that, by the sultan’s order, Baysarī left Hromkla and joined the troops under Qalāwūn’s command. The amirs looted the Armenian kingdom during their 13-day stay in Cilicia and after reaching Tarsūs on the 22nd of Muḥarram of 678 A.H. (July 4, 1279) they returned to Damascus with immense spoils¹⁴⁸.

The most detailed information on the siege of Hromkla is provided by Bar Hebraeus. According to the Syrian maphrian, the Egyptian troops, numbering in total 9 000 cavalry and 4000 infantry, attacked Hromkla on May 19, 1279. The Mamluk commander sent two envoys (one Arab and one Armenian) to the catholicos saying that the sultan demanded peaceful surrender of the fortress. Baysarī promised that the catholicos and all of his clerics would be allowed to go to Jerusalem where they would be allotted a suitable estate (village). As an alternative Baysarī suggested them going to Cilicia where they would be seen off with all honor. The response of the Armenian chief priest was very laconic: “I will fight untill I die. I cannot be faithful both to God and to the king.”¹⁴⁹ Finding no means for dialogue amir, Baysarī ordered to attack and take Hromkla by force. After a fierce struggle, he finally succeeded in capturing the town but was unable to take the citadel, where the entire population was hiding. The Mamluks had been looting the town and its suburbs for five days then set it on fire, they destroyed the gardens and even dismantled the town’s baths moving them to Aleppo¹⁵⁰.

Šafi’ ibn ‘Alī, *al-Faql*, p. 40.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Izz al-Dīn ibn Šaddād, *al-A‘lāq*, vol. 1.2, pp. 348-349.

¹⁴⁹ See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 461.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. The word translated here as “Aleppo” is Bīrōā (Beria) of the original text. It was wrongly identified by Angus Stewart with al-Bīra (Pir) (Stewart, *The*

It’s worth noting that the descriptions of Qalāwūn’s and Baysarī’s campaigns contain no evidence of the Armenian-Mamluk military standoff. Obviously, the Armenian king, as during the earlier campaigns of 1275-1276, having no force to withstand the enemy and no Mongol support in the rear, simply preferred to stay in one of his fortresses waiting for the Mamluks’ withdrawal.

Having completed their “mission” the Mamluk amirs headed to Damascus stopping for a while at Marḡ¹⁵¹. There they learnt about the actual intentions of al-Baraka Khān and the plot organized by him and his *ḥāṣṣakiyya* against them. Unifying their forces the amirs dethroned al-Baraka replacing him by an underage son of Baybars al-‘Ādil Sulāmiš under the guardianship of Qalāwūn. About three months later, the latter was also removed from the throne and Qalāwūn was proclaimed the only ruler of the Sultanate under the royal name al-Malik al-Manšūr (1279-1290).

The coup and enthronement of Qalāwūn in Cairo were not taken unanimously in the Sultanate. The amir of Damascus, Sunqur al-Ašqar, who after being exchanged with the Armenian prince Levon had acquired great influence among the Mamluk elite refused to recognize Qalāwūn’s rule and proclaimed himself a sove-

Armenian Kingdom, p. 53), which is always written in this chronicle as al-Bīrāh. In his Arabic translation of Bar Hebraeus’ work Ishāq Armala also translated Bīrōā as Aleppo. See Ibn al-‘Ibrī, *Tariḥ al-zamān*, tr. by Ishāq Armala, Dār al-Mašriq, Beirut, 1991, p. 339. According to the Syrian chronicler, at the time when emir al-Baysarī besieged Hromkla sultan al-Malik al-Sa‘īd received a letter from the Turkmen Karamanids (*bar Karaman*) of the Sultanate of Rūm that they want to send an army to the Mamluk sultan but do not dare pass through the Armenian territory because they are afraid of the Mongols and Armenian king. By sultan’s instruction al-Baysarī applied to Levon and by the latter’s consent accompanied the Karamans to Syria robbing the settlements of Cilicia, particularly Anavarza on their 15 days way to Hromkla. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, pp. 461-462. See also Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom*, p. 53.

¹⁵¹ See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.2, p. 652.

reign ruler and though Qalāwūn managed to subdue and expel the rebel amir, these cases arouse instability inside Syria setting pre-conditions for a new Mongol campaign. Being unable to return what he lost Sunqur al-Ašqar wrote to Abaqa inviting him to invade Syria¹⁵². Doubtlessly the Ilkhanate was cherishing such plans, waiting for the right time long before Sunqur al-Ašqar's invitation. Therefore, the sultan trying to evade the Mongol threat and further instability in the country soon preferred to reconcile with Sunqur (and other disloyal amirs) and gave him several cities and fortresses.

As in the days of Hülegü in 1260, yet again the Cilician Armenian authorities took an active part in the Mongol campaign organized by Abaqa. The Mongols invaded North Syria capturing 'Ayntab, Bağrās and Darbsāk in the month of Ğumādā al-aḥir of 679 (October, 1280). According to Baybars al-Manšūrī "the lord of Sis" joined them on the way to Darbsāk¹⁵³. In the middle of the same month the Mongol troops reached the vicinities of Aleppo. Hearing about the advance of the enemy's army the population of Aleppo left the city. Twenty years later after the events of 1260, the Mongols again exposed the city to plunder and destruction. The Armenian king was mostly singled out by the Mamluk historians for organizing that¹⁵⁴. After the sack of Aleppo, the Mongols left the city and returned to their country for wintering. A year later, they returned under the general command of Abaqa's brother Manğū-Timūr. Besides king Levon's contingent of troops the Mongol army was also augmented by the troops of Georgian king Demetre and the forces of Seljuq Sultanate of Rum and the Franks. The decisive battle took place in October 1281 near Homs. Although at

the beginning the success was at the side of the allied forces the battle ended with the Mamluks' victory¹⁵⁵. After this heavy defeat Abaqa Khān was already unable to consolidate his forces. The threats from the Chagatai Khanate finally buried his hopes for organizing a new campaign and taking revenge on the Mamluks. In 1282, Abaqa died and Takūdār (1282-1284), who ascended the Ilkhanid throne, converted to Islam, took the royal name of Aḥmad and tried to settle relations with the Mamluks.

Another failure of the Mongols, the Ilkhān's conversion and impossibility of receiving assistance from the West resulted in strengthening of the Mamluk threat hanging again over Cilicia like "*the sword of Damocles*". The punitive actions of the sultan did not take long. Two years after the battle of Homs, Qalāwūn decided to avenge the Armenian king's assistance to the Mongols. In this connection Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir wrote: "Our lord sultan ordered the viceroy of Aleppo to organize a campaign to the country of Sis to punish its lord Layfūn for what he did in Aleppo, when he looted and burnt the [Great] mosque [of Aleppo], etc."¹⁵⁶ The Mamluk campaign was specifically targeted at the port of Ayas, which was terribly plundered and destroyed¹⁵⁷. One of the colophons reads: "And they reached the city of Yegea, which is Ayas and it was quite unexpedted for some Ismaelites in the surrounding that at the time hated the country, campaigned to the city of Ayas and the villages and settlements in its surrounding and many were captured and the others were given to the sword."¹⁵⁸ Armenians were defeated also at the battles of Iskenderun (Bāb al-Iskandarūn, his-

¹⁵² See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 463.

¹⁵³ Baybars al-Manšūrī, *Zubda*, p. 185.

¹⁵⁴ See for instance Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Ibar*, vol. 5, p. 397.

¹⁵⁵ The most detailed description of the battle is given by R. Amitai. See Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols*, pp. 187-201.

¹⁵⁶ Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Taṣrīf al-ayyām wa-l-'uṣūr fī sīrat al-Malik al-Manšūr*, ed. by Murād Kāmil, Cairo, 1961, p. 31.

¹⁵⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 67. Cf. Baybars al-Manšūrī, *Zubda*, p. 240.

¹⁵⁸ HJH, XIII c., p. 529.

torical Alexandretta) and Tall Ḥamdūn. By the evidence of the Mamluk historians and Bar Hebraeus a year later, in 1284, by the order of sultan Qalāwūn the viceroy of Aleppo undertook another attack on the fortress al-Tīnī (or al-Tīnāt) populated by Armenians¹⁵⁹.

The same year 1284, Ilkhān Aḥmad Takūdār was succeeded by Argūn, son of Abaqa (1284-1291). Although he was quite sympathetic toward Christians and actively negotiated with the European states about organizing a new anti-Mamluk alliance, he failed to reach any tangible results. Under these conditions, being unable to solely withstand the exhaustive invasions of Islamic forces, in 1285 Levon II started looking for reconciliation with Qalāwūn. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir the king sent several envoys to Qalāwūn but all of them were arrested. After that the "lord of Sis" subtly involved the Commander of the Tempars in Cilician Armenia (*kamandūr al-daywiyya bi-balad al-Arman*) as a mediator between himself and the sultan and only then Qalāwūn agreed to begin dialogue and listen to the Armenian king's the requests for making peace¹⁶⁰. The negotiations resulted in the signing of a treaty for an Armenian-Mamluk truce (for a symbolic term of 10 years,

10 months, 10 days and 10 hours) containing heavy terms for the Armenian kingdom. Still peace became a reality. The entire text of the treaty is quoted by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir in the biography of sultan Qalāwūn "*Tašrīf al-ayyām*". Of utmost interest for us is the provision of the treaty relating to the Catholicosate of Hromkla: "Qal'at al-Rūm (Hromkla) and caliph of the Armenians— the catholicos (al-kitāgikū) who resides there, as well as his clergymen and the people in his estates, being civilians and peasants, are also included into the requirements of this truce as it has been in the treaty with al-Zāhir."¹⁶¹ This clause in the treaty provides grounds for stating that: (i) Hromkla, although isolated from the Armenian kingdom, was still considered its integral part by the Mamluk authorities; and (ii) a separate clause was dedicated to Hromkla in the first Armenian-Mamluk treaty of 1268, which unfortunately did not survive.

Although the annual tax payable to Mamluks against "non-invasion" was a heavy burden on the Cilician Armenian state, temporary peace established in Armenian-Mamluk relations was still a good opportunity for healing the wounds left by previous years' incessant Mamluk campaigns. However, the peace lasted less than expected – hardly seven years instead of ten, and this was crucial, first of all, for the Catholicosate of Hromkla.

After the death of Catholicos Jacob of Kla in 1286, a new catholicos Kostandin II of Katuk Pronagorc was elected. "After the Armenian Catholicos Tēr Jacob, fond of holiness- wrote Step'anos Orbelean, - with great solemnity and general council in the cathedral of St. Sophia in Sis they seated as an Armenian catholicos var-

¹⁵⁹ See Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Tašrīf al-ayyām*, p. 67; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, p. 240; al-'Aynī, *Iqd*, vol. 2, p. 209. Cf. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 471. Canard (*Le Royaume*, p. 247) and following him Stewart (*The Armenian Kingdom*, p. 55), as well as Šawkat Ramaḍān Huḡḡa (*Al-'Ālāqāt*, p. 263) were at difficulty to find additional information about this fortress and its location in Arabic sources. Meanwhile, the fortress named by Arab historians Qal'at al-Tīnī, al-Tīnāt or al-Tīnāt was probably Canamella belonging to the Templar knights that was taken and destroyed also during the 1266 campaign of Baybars. See Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ*, pp. 270-271. Cf. al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.2, p. 552. For identification of al-Tīnī with Canamella see Molin K., *Unknown Crusader castles*, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 180, 186, as well as Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols*, p. 118, n. 50. Cf. Ališan, *Sisuan*, p. 396.

¹⁶⁰ Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Tašrīf al-ayyām*, pp. 92-93.

¹⁶¹ See *ibid.*, p. 101. See also Holt P. M., *Early Mamluk diplomacy (1260-1290). Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian rulers*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1995, pp. 93-94; Chevalier M.-A., *Les ordres religieux-militaires en Arménie cili-cienne (Templiers, hospitaliers, teutoniques & Arméniens à l'époque des crois-ades)*, Geuthner, Paris, 2009, pp. 425-426.

dapet Kostandin, who was abbot of the holy and sublime monastery called Xorin."¹⁶² Kostandin's patriarchy ended in 1289 soon after the death of king Levon when "in conformity with the feudal law the Armenian throne was inherited by his eldest son Het'um II"¹⁶³ (1289-1307 with interruptions). Being a fanatical advocate of the Latin faith, from the very beginning of his reign Het'um entered into sharp controversy with the Catholicos of All Armenians. Their relations heated especially in 1289 when the Pope of Rome Nicholas IV sent a letter to the Armenian king and Armenian people with a proposal of converting to Latin faith and unifying the two churches. Meeting the catholicos's objections Het'um and his ardent supporter, also reunionist and Latinophil bishop Grigor of Anavarza (future catholicos) convened a council in Sis and, accusing Kostandin in various crimes, dethroned and arrested him¹⁶⁴. After Kostandin's imprisonment the patriarchal chair passed to Step'anos IV, destined to be the last catholicos that resided in Hromkla. Step'anos was unable to resist the pro-Latin faction led by Het'um II and Grigor of Anavarza since during his rule "all affairs were governed from Sis by Anavarzec'i and Het'um."¹⁶⁵

During the same period, Ilkhān Arġūn (1284-1291) was continuing his useless efforts of sending envoys to European states for building an anti-Mamluk alliance while the Mamluks were occupied with the final subjugation of Syria and Palestine. In 1289,

¹⁶² See Step'annos Orbēlean, *Sisakan*, vol. 2, p. 184. Cf. with the continuators of Smbat (*Taregirk'*, 1859, p. 125) and Samuel (*Hawak'munk'*, p. 152, as well as the *idem*, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 428, ref. 535.).

¹⁶³ Ter-Petrossian, *Xač'akirnerə*, vol. 2, p. 337.

¹⁶⁴ See Step'annos Orbēlean, *Sisakan*, vol. 2, p. 186. Cf. Smbat, *Taregirk'*, 1859, p. 125.

¹⁶⁵ Ormanean M., *Azgapatum*, vol. 2, col. 1724.

after the fall of Tripoli¹⁶⁶, the Mamluks intended to capture Acre although the sudden death of sultan al-Manšūr Qalāwūn (1290) delayed their undertaking for a while. The objective of cleansing Syria and Palestine from the Crusaders, despite his short reign, was achieved by Qalāwūn's son – *al-Ašraf Ḥalīl* (1290-1293). Acre – the last important outpost of the Crusaders – fell after 80 days' siege on May 18, 1291. All other cities and fortresses of the Crusaders in the eastern Mediterranean (Tyre, Sidon, Tartus, Beirut, Haifa)¹⁶⁷ were conquered within a few following weeks.

Pro-Latin Armenian king Het'um II was well aware that sooner or later his kingdom would also fall under the Mamluks' disastrous blows. According to al-Maqrīzī, in 1289 already when Qalāwūn was besieging Tripoli, "the envoys of Sis appeared before him seeking his mercy. Sultan demanded to surrender Mar'aš, Bahnā (scribal error instead of Bahasnā – G. D.) and pay the tribute (*al-qaṭī'a*) as usual. He sent the ambassadors back with presents (in original: *ḥala'a* i.e. "bestowed on them robes of honor")."¹⁶⁸ Although al-Maqrīzī says nothing about the Armenian king's response, according to the evidence of al-Nuwayrī, the Copt Mufaḍḍal and Ibn al-Furāt, who was the most likely the primary source for al-Maqrīzī, "The Sis ambassadors returned with numerous gifts

¹⁶⁶ See Runciman, *A history*, vol. III, pp. 406-408; Northrup, *From slave to sultan*, pp. 151-155.

¹⁶⁷ Irwin R., *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk sultanate 1250-1382*, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1986, pp. 76-78; Runciman S., *A history of the Crusades: Vol. III* (The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 412-423; Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āšūr, *al-'Aṣr al-Mamālīkī fī Miṣr wa-l-Šām*, Dār al-Nahḍa al-'arabiyya, Cairo, 1976, pp. 74-76.

¹⁶⁸ See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.3, p. 748. Cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, vol. 31, p. 106; Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, vol. 8, p. 81 and Mufaḍḍal, *al-Nahḡ*, p. 367 [531]. Cf. Stewart, *Kingdom*, pp. 72-73.

and apologized that they cannot surrender Mar'aš and Bahasnā but [instead] they may pay large sums each year."¹⁶⁹ This refusal strengthened the determination of the Mamluk authorities to strike Cilician Armenia.

It became evident two years later, when *al-Ašraf Ḥalīl*, aspiring to exceed the feats of his father, sent a letter to the Armenian king after the sack of Acre informing him about the capture of the city and threatening to inflict the fate of Acre upon the Armenian kingdom as the last Christian state bordering the Mamluk sultanate. The text of that letter to Het'um II was preserved by an anonymous Mamluk historian of the 14th century as well as by Ibn al-Dawādārī. The Anonymous chronicler, for instance, writes: "Bring the first and second tributes (implied is the simultaneous payment of the two years' tribute) and appear before me in person (in original: *ilā abwābina al-‘āliya* - 'to our High Door' - G. D.), and if you obey the alliance with the devil then mourning will spread over the country of Sis."¹⁷⁰ According to an Armenian colophon written in 1292: "And the name of the sultan that brought this disaster and mourning to Christians was Mēlik' Ašraf, son of Alče (sic, should be Alfē - G.D.), and moreover like a thunderstorm cloud, full of the anger of lightnings, was terrifying and shaking the country of Armenians and annoying by numerous taxes the Armenian king Het'um, demanding the country and provinces and fortresses."¹⁷¹

In 1292 when they were waiting in Cilicia for the the Sultan's forthcoming attack, al-Ašraf decided to unexpectedly target

¹⁶⁹ See Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, vol. 8, p. 81.

¹⁷⁰ See al-Mu'allif al-mağhūl, p. 8; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 8, pp. 230-321. Cf. Scott R. J., *Mamlūk-Armenian relations during the Bahrī period to the fall of Sīs (1250-1375)*, McGill University, Montreal, 1981 (unpublished MA thesis), p. 132, 161, n. 5; Stewart, *Kingdom*, p. 74, n. 33.

¹⁷¹ *HJH*, XIII c., p. 702 and 746 (a colophon written by Het'um II).

Hromkla and resolve once and forever the problem of the Armenian enclave on the border of his Sultanate. As confirmed by another colophon: "Thus terrified was the country of Cilicia, they left for the mountains and fortresses while he went to the Seat of the Armenian Patriarch, to Hromkla."¹⁷² According to the chronicle of Nerses Palienc', before the sultan reached Hromkla, Het'um II managed to send his maternal uncle Raymond with a number of other princes to the defence of the castle of the Holy See¹⁷³.

Listing the reasons of the sultan's intention to capture Hromkla, Mamluk historian Baybars al-Manṣūrī, who himself participated in the siege of the fortress, wrote: "He (the sultan) set out to Hromkla to capture it as he desired, because there was nothing within his kingdom except it that would not be in his hands. [Besides] it made raids on its Muslim neighbors and attacked the travelers passing beneath [its walls]."¹⁷⁴ Similar explanation of the reasons for this campaign is given by al-'Aynī in his "*Iqd al-ğumān*": "The reason of this was that (...) ¹⁷⁵ the lord of that fortress (...) sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ṣāliḥ (...) and they became more and more vicious and when the war among the Tatars broke after the death of their king, many of them came to Hromkla and arranged with its residents to cut off the road for the Muslims. Thus, they took many captives from the Muslims by cutting off the roads. The lord of Aleppo reported about it to the sultan; moreover, he added that besides this fortress there is no other fortress belonging to infidels in Dār al-Islām (literally "the Home of Islam")."¹⁷⁶ Agreeing to the proposal of the amir of Aleppo and

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 711.

¹⁷³ See MŽ, vol. 2, p. 181.

¹⁷⁴ See Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *al-Tuhfa*, p. 130, as well as *idem*, *Zuhda*, p. 288.

¹⁷⁵ The publisher was at difficulty to restore the missing words because of the erasure in the text of the manuscript.

¹⁷⁶ Al-'Aynī, *Iqd*, vol. 3, p. 111.

consulting with other amirs the sultan finally resolved to capture the seat of the Armenian catholicos. Actually, under the truce of 1285 attacking the Muslim merchants was already considered a violation of the treaty terms and could by itself serve a ground for resuming military actions, though obviously there should be deeper reasons for giving a decisive blow to Hromkla, which was on the mind of the Mamluk authorities long ago.

By the evidence of the Anonymous Mamluk chronicler, who participated in the siege of Hromkla, sultan al-Malik al-Ašraf went out of Cairo on the 8th day of Rābi' II of 691 (March 29, 1292) and arrived in Damascus accompanied by his vizier Šams al-Dīn ibn Sal'ūs on the 1st of Ġumādā I (April 20). The lord of Ḥamā, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, went to meet the sultan there and invited him to stay in Ḥamā for several days¹⁷⁷. Continuing their way the unified army of Egypt and Syria reached Aleppo on the 28th day of the same month (May 17). The Mamluk forces left Aleppo on the 4th of Ġumādā al-āḥir (May 23) and four days later, on Wednesday (May 27), besieged the fortified city of the Catholicosate¹⁷⁸.

Considering the impregnability of the fortress the sultan took personal command of the siege and prepared very seriously. This is evidenced by the fact that beside the large number of manpower involved into the siege of Hromkla, also numerous siege machines and engines were set up. According to an Armenian colophon:

¹⁷⁷ Abū al-Fidā', *al-Muḥtaṣar*, vol. 4, p. 26, also Nalbandyan, *Arabakan albyurnera*, pp. 238-239.

¹⁷⁸ See al-Mu'allif al-maḡhūl, pp. 9-10. Cf. Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 8, p. 323; al-Ġazarī, *Ḥawādīt*, vol. 1, p. 101; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, vol. 31, p. 143; Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, vol. 8, p. 136; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.3, p. 778. Baybars al-Manšūrī and Abū al-Fidā', the historian and future sultan of Ḥama, who participated in the conquest of the fortress write that Hromkla was besieged during the first 10-day period of month Ġumādā al-āḥir. See Baybars al-Manšūrī, *Zubda*, p. 288; Abū al-Fidā', *al-Muḥtaṣar*, vol. 4, p. 27.

"...and surrounding the castle he besieged it by numerous warriors, high mangonels with heavy stones, rock cutter artisans and sappers and tunnel-diggers."¹⁷⁹ A contemporary of these events, a scribe named Barsel, wrote in his colophon: "and he besieged it with many machines and numerous cavalry and infantry, and trebuchets, numbering thirty five, large and small, were set up."¹⁸⁰ Despite certain differences, the Mamluk chroniclers speak of the engines employed in the siege (*maḡḡanīq*) and their types in more detail. Al-Nuwayrī, Ibn al-Furāt and al-Maqrīzī speak of 20 catapults used during the siege of the fortress¹⁸¹. Meanwhile according to Mufaḍḍal ibn Faḍā'il and Ibn al-Dawādārī the total number of catapults was 19¹⁸². Ibn Kaṭīr wrote that the number of *maḡḡanīqs* exceeded thirty¹⁸³, while al-'Aynī and Ibn Iyās mention 23¹⁸⁴. It seems that an

¹⁷⁹ See *HJH*, XIII c., p. 711. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 702, 719.

¹⁸⁰ *MŽ*, vol. 2, p. 93.

¹⁸¹ See al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, vol. 31, p. 143-144; Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, vol. 7, p. 136; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.2, p. 778. Recently K. Raphael, referring to the data of al-Maqrīzī and al-Nuwayrī also indicated the number of catapults at the disposal of the Mamluk army as 20. See Raphael, *Muslim Fortresses*, p. 187. Abū al-Fidā' says nothing about the total number of the catapults writing only that the Ḥamā troops occupied the place on the mount situated in the eastern side of the fortress wherefrom they saw what was going on there: the movement of the population, their actions and flight. See Abū al-Fidā', *al-Muḥtaṣar*, vol. 4, p. 27, as well as Nalbandyan, *Arabakan albyurnera*, p. 239.

¹⁸² Mufaḍḍal, *al-Naḡḡ*, p. 389 [553]. As regards the number of catapults – 19, mentioned by Ibn al-Dawādārī, in this case instead of Ibn al-Miḥaffadār the latter refers to his father (*qāla wālidī*) as the source of information. See Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, vol. 8, p. 333. We have already mentioned above that for adding exclusiveness to his work Ibn al-Dawādārī sometimes resorted to such "mala fides" as concealing his real sources.

¹⁸³ Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāya*, vol. 17, p. 637.

¹⁸⁴ Al-'Aynī, *'Iqd*, vol. 3, p. 113; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duḥūr*, vol. 1.1, ed. by Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, Dār iḥyā' al-kutub al-'arabiyya, Cairo, 1975, p. 370.

exclusive source for the exact number of siege machines placed around Hromkla should be considered al-Ġazarī, who in his turn referred to amir Ibn al-Miḥaffadār and his son - Sayf al-Dīn who took part in the siege. Specifically he wrote: "Aimed at it were 5 Frankish (*afranġiyya*) and 5 *qarābugā* (literally "black camel") as well as 15 *šayṭāniyya* (literally "satanic") ballistic machines."¹⁸⁵ (i.e. total 25 catapults). However because of several syntactic and grammatical mistakes in this sentence made by the chronicler the copyists directly or indirectly using his information were confused. Even A. Stewart was lost in the controversial numbers of the Arabic chroniclers. Using J. Sauvaget's partial translation of al-Ġazarī's work and repeating his translation mistake (5 *faranġi*, 1 *qarābugā* and 15 *šayṭāni* catapults)¹⁸⁶, Stewart further concluded that the catapults used by Mamluk forces during the siege of Hromkla were twice more than mentioned by al-Maqrīzī, i.e. 40 in number¹⁸⁷. The controversial report of the Damascene historian concerning the number of catapults used by the Mamluk army seems to be correctly interpreted by P. Chevedden who explained the reason of confusion in the reports of historians in his article¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸⁵ See al-Ġazarī, *Ḥawādīt*, vol. 1, p. 109. The deciphering of al-Ġazarī's text may be enhanced by the parallel study of the variant provided by the Mamluk Anonymous. See al-Mu'allif al-maġhūl, p. 16. For the types of the catapults see Chevedden P., The Artillery of King James I the Conqueror, in: *Iberia & the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages*, vol. 2, ed. by P. Chevedden, D. Kagay & P. Padilla, E. J. Brill, 1996, pp. 47-94, 58-63.

¹⁸⁶ See Sauvaget J., *La chronique de Damas d'al-Jazari (années 689-698 H.)*, Paris, 1949, p. 16 and Stewart, *Kingdom*, p. 76.

¹⁸⁷ See ibid. In his article on Hromkla published a few years later the scholar did not emend his mistake insisting again that their number was "over fourty". See A. Stewart, Qal'at al-Rūm/Hromkla/Rumkale and the Mamluk Siege of 691AH/1292CE, in: *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria: From the Coming of Islam to the Ottoman Period*, ed. by H. Kennedy, Brill, 2006, p. 276.

¹⁸⁸ Chevedden P., Black Camels and Blazing Bolts: The Bolt-Projecting

Most of the Arab historians agree that the siege of the fortress lasted 33 days¹⁸⁹. As regards the Armenian sources, according to a contemporaneous colophon, the siege of Hromkla lasted 35 days; according to the continuator of Smbat Sparapet, "many days"; according to the continuator of Anec'i, "numerous days"¹⁹⁰; according to the "Xronikon" (in Armenian) of Hayton of Corycus the sultan captured the catholicossal castle in 40 days; according to Step'anos Orbelean - "within a month's time" and according to the continuator of the "Chronography" of Bar Hebraeus - within 20 days¹⁹¹.

Thus, the Mamluk army was bombarding the fortress with stones for over a month. The scribe Barsegh wrote: "and they were hitting the walls of the fortress by stones and throwing large and small stones inside the fortress, and shooting arrows, killing people

Trebuchet in the Mamluk Army, *Mamluk Studies Review*, vol. 8.1, pp. 245-246, n. 36.

¹⁸⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.3, p. 778; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, vol. 31, p. 143-144; Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, vol. 7, p. 136. Cf. al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtafi*, vol. 2, p. 278; al-Qahabī, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 52, p. 12; Qirṭay al-Ḥazindārī, *Maġmū'*, p. 216. Besides indicating the conquest of the fortress under a wrong date - 692, "*al-Ḥawādīt al-ġāmi'a*" attributed to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī indicates the duration of the siege also wrongly as two months. See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādīt*, p. 323. The 14th cent. author al-Yāfi'ī (d. 1366) wrote that "*the fortress was taken in 25 days. Its residents were Christians - the Tatar subjects*". See al-Yāfi'ī, *Mirāt al-ġinān wa-'ibrat al-yaqẓān fī ma'rīfat mā yu'tabar min ḥawādīt al-zamān*, ed. by Ḥalīl Maṣṣūr, vol. 4, Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya, Beirut, 1997, p. 164. Ibn Ḥaldūn indicates "30 days". See Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, vol. 5, p. 464. Notably "*Muḥṭār*" attributed to Baybars al-Manṣūrī also indicates 20 days (*Muḥṭār al-aḥbār*, p. 92).

¹⁹⁰ See HJH, XIII c., p. 702, Smbat, *Taregirk'*, 1859, p. 126 (continuator); Samuēl Anec'i ev šarunakolner, *Žamanakagrut' iwn*, p. 267 (continuator).

¹⁹¹ See MŽ, vol. 2, p. 80; Step'annos Orbelean, *Sisakan*, vol. 2, p. 190; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 493. Bar Hebraeus died in 1286 and his "Chronography" was probably continued and completed by some other scribe - most likely his brother Bar Sawma al-Sāfi.

and animals.”¹⁹² Besides the catapults, other siege instruments were also used, specifically for undermining the foundations of the walls. Digging saps for opening trenches in walls and penetrating into the fortress are evidenced by the above mentioned colophon (nałmap’or daranamtok’), Het’um Patmič’ (“making holes by catapults from above and stonecut saps for pressing from beneath” – slareal babanok’ i verust ev k’arap’or cakamtok’, nałmelov nełeal i nerk’ust), and by Nerses Palienc’ (“they demolished all fortress walls by the catapults and sapped and entered into the fortress through the manhole and wanted to turn it down from beneath – “ayl babanovn p’lucin zamenayn parispn ev nałmec’in ev yekin i meļ berdin cakn ev hatake šrjel uzēin”)¹⁹³. The Mamluk historians also stressed digging tunnels (*nuqūb*) under the fortress walls¹⁹⁴.

As evidenced by the scribe Barseļ, the town was in great danger, want and panic because of the “Hagarians’ ” (i.e. Arabs’) siege “and nobody entered and came out from there because the town was besieged on all sides and nobody came to their help, and the men and women, old and young, the youth and virgins cried and loudly appealed to the Lord in the Heighest and shed tears, hopeful that God who loves humankind would show mercy and save them from the hands of the lawless.”¹⁹⁵ However, the evidence of the Mamluk historians shows that Armenians and Mongols made hopeless efforts to save the residents of the fortress from the deadly siege. Al-Nuwayrī, Ibn al-Furāt and al-Maqrīzī are silent about this, but al-‘Aynī tells a story in this regard. According to him, the besieged residents of Hromkla appealed to “the lord of Sis” to send

help. Seeing that he could do nothing, the Armenian king made an ingenious decision. Providing five thousand cavalymen to three Armenian princes (*umarā*) he disguised them as Mongols (with Mongol hats and clothes) for creating an impression of Mongol army and sent them to the Euphrates to frighten the Mamluks and distract them from the siege. Seeing this, some bedouins (*ba‘aḍ al-‘arab*) informed the sultan. Al-Ašraf sent a Mamluk contingent under the command of amirs Sunqur al-Ašqar and Baktaš al-Fahrī against these “Mongols”. Hearing about it the Armenians were compelled to return, being defeated and desperate (*al-ḥā‘ibīn al-ḥāsirīn*). This inspired the Muslims to quickly complete the capture of the fortress¹⁹⁶.

This narrative by al-‘Aynī is probably a reflection of a failed attempt by Mongols to liberate Hromkla from the sultan’s siege, the preliminary version of which is recorded by Baybars al-Manṣūrī presenting his own memories (*qāla al-rāwī* – “the narrator said”)¹⁹⁷. “When we were amid the siege, fight, pressing, we noticed a group of Tatars at the eastern bank, in the middle of the mountains. Sultan ordered to send a squad led by a number of grand amirs for checking on that news and searching their traces.”¹⁹⁸ By the sultan’s order four amirs of the Mamluk army (the historian among them) went to face them. Then like al-‘Aynī, Baybars al-Manṣūrī continues that crossing the Euphrates the troops of amirs began searching for the Mongols. Finding nothing, they had to go back and join the siege again. The historian continues that after these events the defected Mongol amir Sayf al-Dīn Ġankalī ibn al-Bābā told him that such a campaign really did take

¹⁹² *MŽ*, vol. 2, p. 93.

¹⁹³ *HJH*, XIII c., p. 719. Cf. *ibid*, p. 702. See also *MŽ*, vol. 2, p. 181.

¹⁹⁴ See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.3, p. 778, as well as Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, p. 288; al-Ġazarī, *Ḥawādīt*, vol. 1, p. 110; Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, vol. 8, p. 136.

¹⁹⁵ *HJH*, XIII c., pp. 730-731.

¹⁹⁶ Al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd*, vol. 3, p. 115. See also Stewart, *Kingdom*, p. 77.

¹⁹⁷ For this expression in the work of Baybars al-Manṣūrī see Northrup, *From slave to sultan*, pp. 39-40.

¹⁹⁸ See Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, p. 289 and Cf. *idem*, *al-Tuḥfa*, p. 131.

place and he personally participated in it. The Mongol army consisted of ten thousand cavalymen was led by a Mongol commander named Naytamiš and was assigned to take the Mamluks by surprise if possible. But, seeing the number and might of the Sultanate's forces, the Mongol troops decided to turn back¹⁹⁹.

Unaware of this report by Baybars Maṣṣūrī²⁰⁰, A. Stewart also had concluded that al-'Aynī's narrative concerning the "attempt of Armenian diversion" might be a reason of confusion and that those were actually Mongol forces that approached Hromkla. He referred to R. Irwin, who stated that "a Mongol force sent to assist the Armenians arrived too late and withdrew."²⁰¹ Irwin did not mention the source of his information and Stewart had difficulty finding it. Meanwhile, the fact that Mongol troops were sent against al-Ašraf Ḥalīl for lifting the Mamluk siege of Hromkla is witnessed by the official Ilhanid historian Rašīd al-Dīn. According to the latter: "At that time news was received that the enemy's army had come from Syria and that Malik Ašraf besieged Qal'at al-Rūm. In the month of Raḡab (June) Tāyḡū-ogūl, son of Mangū-Tīmūr, Toḡāčār, Buqḏāy-Aḥtāḡī and Tamāḡī-Ināq with a considerable army headed there to confront the enemy. And in the month of Ša'bān (July) crown prince Sukāy, emir Tīmūr-Būqā and Qarāḡa headed towards Hromkla through Aḥlāt and Arjīš. But, already in the month of Raḡab Malik Ašraf took Hromkla and slaughtered part of its population and drove another part to captivity. Then he entrusted the fortress to his subordinates (*kutwāl*

¹⁹⁹ See the previous reference.

²⁰⁰ In his monograph A. Stewart used Shah Morad Elham's partial redaction and fragmentary translations of Baybars' "Zubda" (as well as al-Nuwayrī's "*al-Nihāya*"), as a result of which numerous valuable evidences from that historian remained unknown to him.

²⁰¹ See Irwin, *Middle East*, p. 78.

i.e. "commandant") and he himself returned home."²⁰² This testimony of Rašīd al-Dīn leads to the conclusion that the Mongols took the road to Hromkla twice. The first time it was the campaign described by Baybars al- Maṣṣūrī, which the Mongols had to stop because of the lack of confidence. The Mongols made the second attempt probably with essentially larger forces but this time they were late and unable to assist the residents of Hromkla²⁰³.

Even without any external assistance, the residents of Hromkla organized heroic defence resisting the enemy until the last breath. According to metropolitan Step'anos, after seizing the fortress the sultan confessed in conversation with the catholicos that he had even thrice thought about lifting the siege²⁰⁴. So the sultan was not pretending when, in the congratulatory letter written to the supreme *qāḏī* of Damascus after the seizure of the fortress, he told about how much difficulty that victory was won. It even seemed to him that Hromkla, erected on impregnable bare rocks, was even firmer than Acre (*in kānat aḥṣan min 'Akkā*)²⁰⁵.

The Damascene historian al-Ġazarī referring again to his informant amir Ibn al-Miḥaffadār told about a surprising event (*min al-'aḡā'ib*) during the siege of Hromkla: "While we continued keeping it under the siege, a strong and terribly fast wind started that blew away all the tents and the people were compelled to spend the night in open air. The next day the sky began thundering so strongly that it even seemed it would soon fall onto the earth. At that time lightning struck and burnt three men one of whom died, half of the other's body was burnt and the heart of the third stopped from the fear and he also died. [At that moment] they were in the

²⁰² See Rašīd al-Dīn, *Ġāmi' al-tawārīḥ*, vol. 2, pp. 833-834, as well as Rašīd al-Dīn, *Sbornik letopisej*, vol. 3, pp. 133-134. Cf. Banākatī, *Rawḏa*, p. 448.

²⁰³ Cf. Irwin, *Middle East*, p. 78 and Stewart, *Kingdom*, p. 79, n. 54.

²⁰⁴ See Step'annos Orbēlean, *Sisakan*, vol. 2, p. 191.

²⁰⁵ Al-Mu'allif al-maḡhūl, p. 11.

tent of amir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā who was then the viceroy of Egypt.”²⁰⁶

But, neither the natural elements nor the 33-day long stubborn resistance of the Hromkla citizens could stop the determination of al-Malik al-Aṣraf. The Mamluk sources give the exact date of taking the fortress: the 11th of Raḡab, 691 (June 28, 1292). The same date is indicated also in sultan's letter to the *qāḍī* of Damascus: “By the might and victory of Allāh this fortress was taken on the 11th day of Raḡab al-Fard, Saturday and thank Him who made easier the difficulty [of its seizure] and accelerated its acquisition.”²⁰⁷ The same date, as in the Mamluk sources, is indicated also by the continuator of Bar Hebraeus²⁰⁸. Of the Armenian authors Het'um indicates the same date as Arabic sources (in year “741, June 28”) while the brief chronicle attributed to Sargis Pic'ak erroneously dates the capture of Hromkla as by July 28, 1292²⁰⁹.

The Arab historians especially emphasized the contribution of the viceroy of Damascus (*nā'ib al-saltāna*) Saṅḡar al-Šuḡḡā'ī. Ibn Furāt, for example, wrote: “Amir 'Alam al-Dīn al-Šuḡḡā'ī - the ruler of Damascus, had the greatest share in taking Hromkla since he managed to throw a chain on the towers of the fortress and fasten its opposite end to the ground. Holding onto it, the troops could climb to the fortress. Among those who climbed up was Sayf al-Dīn Aqḡubā that was one of the mamluks of Badr al-Dīn Baktāš al-Faḥrī Amīr Silāḥ²¹⁰. He was not one of his well-know mamluks. He was in the service of his son Šalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥalīl. Due to his resourcefulness he climbed on the fortress wall and organized a great

²⁰⁶ See al-Ġazārī, *Hawadīt*, vol. 1, p. 109.

²⁰⁷ Al-Mu'allif al-maḡhūl, p. 12.

²⁰⁸ See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 493.

²⁰⁹ See *HJH*, XIII c., p. 719. Cf. *MŽ*, vol. 1, p. 106.

²¹⁰ Literally, “grand master of the armour”. For this office, see Ayalon D., *Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army-II*, *BSOAS*, vol. 15, 1953, p. 468.

massacre there then he was wounded and had to return.”²¹¹ Baybars al-Manšūrī continues: “Following each other the soldiers climbed up by that chain and achieved their purpose by that trick. They took the fortress and erected flags on it in haste. All the fighters that had been there were killed. The women and families were captivated. Also found there was the Armenian patriarch (*baṭrik al-arman*) who was also taken prisoner.”²¹²

The scribe Barsel represented the terrible deeds of the enemy invading the fortress as follows: “And who could tell about the destruction of churches, the ruining of the holy altars and the plunder of sacred chalices and vessels from the sanctuaries of God, the murder of priests, the captivity of deacons, the dishonoring of virgins and the disgracing of wives, sparing neither the aged, nor children and youth, and having no mercy on innocent infants but putting them to the sword, death or captivity.”²¹³

The metropolitan of Syunik' Step'anos Orbelean testified: “After the siege of a month, he firstly took the town and then the inner citadel, and then the highest castle, in which there was a splendid church built by Catholicos Grigor and the gated house of the patriarch.”²¹⁴ Abū al-Fīdā', who was among the troops of Ḥamā, confirms that upon capturing the fortified city “the catholicos (*kīnāḡīlūs* in the text), “the Armenian caliph” (*ḥalīfat al-arman*)

²¹¹ Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, vol. 8, p. 136. The historian further narrates that this act of Aqḡubā's bravery did not miss the sultan's eye and he favored the Mamluk soldier with great honor and gifts. Later Aqḡubā became a famous emir receiving the degree of *ṭablḡāna*. See *ibid.*, pp. 136-137. For the undertaking of Saṅḡar al-Šuḡḡā'ī and Aqḡubā, see also al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.3, p. 778. Cf. Baybars al-Manšūrī, *Zubda*, pp. 288-289.

²¹² See *ibid.*, p. 289.

²¹³ *HJH*, XIII c., p. 731. For the looting and massacre of the city residents see also Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 493.

²¹⁴ See Step'annos Orbēlean, *Sisakan*, vol. 2, p. 190.

residing there found refuge in the citadel (*qulla*). Those who escaped the massacre organized in the city also gathered there with him. Catapults of the Ḥamā troops were placed just on top the rock stretching towards the citadel. Thereupon, the lord of Ḥamā received an order of the sultan to strike it with mangonels. And when we charged for stoning they asked the sultan for “amān” (safe conduct). The latter guaranteed to spare their lives only under condition of surrendering to captivity. They agreed. The Catholicos was imprisoned as well as those who were with him in the citadel of the fortress – down to the last man.”²¹⁵

The description of Nerses Palienc’ sounds like the continuation of Abū al-Fidā’s narrative: “... they wanted *amanat* that is guarantee against surrendering to them. But the sultan did not accept their request because prior to it he had many times proposed: “Give the fortress and I will let you go with all your properties.” Finding no way out the catholicos and other clergymen in the fortress put on their monastic vestments and went to surrender to the sultan”²¹⁶.

It is worth noting that the Mamluk losses during the capture of Hromkla were also considerable. According to Arab historians during the heavy fights under the walls of the fortress the amirs Šaraf al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥaṭīr, Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Rukn were martyred (*istašhada*), while Dārya ‘Izz al-Misrī and Ḥalīl ibn al-Šām’a died by lightning (text has *al-bard* – ‘cold’ instead of *al-barq* – ‘lightning’)²¹⁷.

By the evidence of Step’anos Orbelean, imprisoned along with the Armenian catholicos were 20 bishops and numerous

²¹⁵ See Abū al-Fidā’, *al-Muḥtaṣar*, vol. 4, p. 27. See also Nalbandyan, *Arabakan albyurnerā*, p. 239.

²¹⁶ MŽ, vol. 2, p. 181.

²¹⁷ See al-Mu’allif al-mağhūl, p. 17. Cf. also al-Ġazārī, *Ḥawādīṭ*, vol. 1, p. 109; Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, vol. 8, p. 137.

priests and deacons²¹⁸. He says nothing about the total number of captives. According to Nerses Palienc’ over 30 thousand people had been driven to captivity²¹⁹. However, his data should obviously be considered exaggerated. The Mamluk historians, as for instance al-Ġazārī, al-Nuwayrī, Ibn al-Furāt and al-Maqrīzī, mention a much smaller number of captives – 1200²²⁰, which is quite plausible.

Besides a large number of victims and captives, the Armenian Church bore other losses. The treasures of the Catholicosate were robbed, the Gospels, ritual vessels, church relics, all-national apostolic remains and sacred objects such as the “Illuminator’s right hand” fell into hostile hands. One of the colophon writers of

²¹⁸ Step’annos Orbēlean, *Sisakan*, vol. 2, p. 190. It appears that during the conquest of Hromkla some Syrian clerics being in the fortress were captured along with the Armenians. This is attested by the colophon of a Syriac manuscript № 295 kept in the British Museum. See Wright W., *Catalogue of Syriac manuscripts in the British Museum*, part 1, London, 1870, p. 231. No less interesting is the evidence of al-‘Aynī: “It was under the Tatars’ rule that had [even] a *šaḥna* (or *šihna* – “supervisor”, “administrator”) there who was captivated with a number of other captives. That was the greatest victory of the Muslims.” See al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd*, vol. 3, p. 121. The veracity of this information is doubtful since we found no evidence in other Arabic sources about the Mongols appointing a *šaḥna* at Hromkla.

²¹⁹ MŽ, vol. 2, p. 181.

²²⁰ See al-Ġazārī, *Ḥawādīṭ*, vol. 1, p. 109, al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, vol. 31, p. 144; Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, vol. 8, p. 137; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.3, p. 778. Though H. Nalbandyan cited al-Maqrīzī in his work, he had erroneously indicated the number of the captives as 12.000 instead of 1200 and A. Hovhannisyan repeated that error. See Nalbandyan, *Arabakan albyurnerā*, p. 278 and Hovhannisyan A., *Kilikiaiyi haykakan t’agavorut’yan ew Yegiptosi Sult’anut’yan haraberut’yunnerā 1250-1375 t’vakannerin*, (Relations between the Cilician Armenian kingdom and the Sultanate of Egypt in 1250-1375), Yerevan, 2008, p. 114. Cf. *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks, de l’Egypte écrite en Arabe par Taki-Eddin-Ahmed-Makrizi*, traduite en Français par M. Quatremère, t. 2.3, Paris, 1845, p. 141.

the time wrote: "Because the preachers and the glorious men fell by the sword and honourable women were violated, godly testaments were robbed by the hands of the lawless, the relics of saint martyrs and apostles were lost, jewelry of gold and pearls, and precious stones that were on the sacred objects were looted, the right hand of our apostolic Saint Illuminator was taken captive to alien country, which was even more lamentable than the captivity of the Ark of the Covenant in the past. And all of this caused lament and tears to the sorrow and moan of all Armenia."²²¹ Fortunately, according to the continuator of Smbat, Het'um succeeded to buy back "from the unlawful the right hand of the Illuminator and all relics" and bring them to Sis²²².

Kostandin of Katuk Pronagorc released from captivity in 1293 and appointed as abbot of the Skevra monastery, left a memorial inscription on a silver reliquary, known as "the Skevra reliquary", about the fall of Hromkla:

*"A year ago
Hromkla was taken.
Those who resided there naturally
Had been captivated.
Celestial churches
Had been destroyed by the faithless.*

²²¹ *HJH, XIII c.*, p. 711. Cf. **Step'annos Orbēlean**, *Sisakan*, vol. 2, p. 190; **Smbat**, *Taregirk'* (continuator), 1859, p. 126; **Girk' t't'oc'** (Book of letters), Tiflis, 1901, p. 537.

²²² **Smbat**, *Taregirk'*, 1859, p. 126. Cf. **Step'annos Orbēlean**, *Sisakan*, vol. 2, p. 192 ("and all sacred objects that had been captivated dissappeared without a trace and finding"). For controversial evidence of the sources on the fate of the "the right hand of the Illuminator" see **Babgēn A At'oṛakic' Kat'olikos**, *Patmut'wn kat'olikosac' Kilikiy (1441-ēn minč'ew mer orerā)* (History of the catholicoi of Cilicia from 1441 to our days), Antelias, 1939, column 1282-1290 (in Armenian).

*And godly sacred objects
Were touched by profane hands.
And holy theological treatises
Were scattered with disdain.
Holy patriarchs and their associates
Were taken captive to the land of Tačkastan.*"²²³

The author of the colophon of "The Book of Letters" copied six years after the fall of Hromkla remembers the three churches of the catholicosate with deep pain: "Also the God-dwelled and celestial, splendid and superb temples of St. Gregory and the Holy Virgin and the one in the name of the Son, the new holy Savior, were trampled and turned into an abode for the faithless."²²⁴ Also noteworthy is the information of Het'um the Historian that "he settled the repudiators of Christ in the Patriarchate and in the beautiful sanctuary."²²⁵ In V. Hakobyan's opinion these words probably referred to those Armenians who adopted Islam for saving their life from the massacre²²⁶. "And they looted the fortress and

²²³ See **Ališan**, *Sisuan*, p. 108. Questions about the acquisition of the reliquary and the authorship of the inscription had long been subjects of heated debates. See *ibid.*, pp. 107-113; **Carrière A.**, *Inscriptions d'un reliquaire arménien de la collection Basilewski, Mélanges orientaux*, Paris, 1883, pp. 169-213; **Der Nersessian S.**, *Le Reliquaire de Skevra et l'orfèvrerie cilicienne aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, *REA*, № 1, 1964, pp. 121-134, 143-147; **Kakovkin A. Ja.**, *Eščē raz k voprosu o zakazčike relikvarija 1293 g.* (Once more on the question of the customer of the reliquary of 1293), *Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri* (Herald of the Social Sciences), 1972, № 6, pp. 77-84 (in Russian); **Mnac'akanyan A.**, *Ov ē Skevrayi 1293 t'vakani masmatup'i patviratu Kostandin yepiskoposē* (Who is the recipient of the Skevra reliquary?), "Ējmiacin" (September), 1972, pp. 57-65 (in Armenian).

²²⁴ **Girk' t't'oc'**, p. 537. See also *HJH, XIII c.*, p. 839.

²²⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 719.

²²⁶ **Hakobyan V.**, *Het'um Patmič'i norahayt hišatakarane ew nra patmakan nšanakut'yuna* (The newly found colophon by Het'um the Historian and its

robbed", wrote Step'anos Orbelean. — "plundered all ecclesial ware and innumerable treasures of God, and the whole wealth but did not destroy the church."²²⁷ Opposite to Step'anos, the Persian chronicler Waṣṣāf stated that after capturing Hromkla "the Muslims settled there and turned their temples to mosques."²²⁸

To mark his victory al-Malik al-Aṣraf ordered to rename the fortress²²⁹. According to Baybars al-Manṣūrī "the sultan ordered to erase "the Roman name" from the fortress ("the Roman fortress") and no one henceforth should use that name but call it "the Muslim's fortress of al-Aṣraf (*Qal'at al-Muslimīn al-Aṣrafiyya*)."²³⁰ However, it is worth noting that, as observed by K. Raphael, the new name, however, never took root among the Muslims. The Muslim chroniclers continued calling it *Qal'at al-Rūm*²³¹ in parallel with the "Muslim fortress".

As mentioned above, once the fortress was taken, letters were sent to Damascus, Cairo and other cities of the Sultanate to announce the good news of the capture. According to the Anonymous Mamluk chronicler, "The herald arrived in Damascus on the 15th of month Raḡab (July 2), on Wednesday, with letters about the conquest in his hand that were addressed to the viceroy who at that

historical significance), *Telekagir HSSR gitut'yunneri akademiayi: Hasarakakan gitut'yunner* (Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR: Social Sciences), 1948, № 10, p. 69.

²²⁷ Step'annos Orbelean, *Sisakan*, vol. 2, pp. 190-191.

²²⁸ See Waṣṣāf, *Taghiyat al-amṣār wa-tazghiyat al-a'sār (Tārīḥ-e Waṣṣāf)*, vol. 3, ed. by Muḥammad Mahdī al-Iṣfahānī, Bombay, 1269/1853, p. 354, as well as 'Abd al-Muḥammad Āyattī, *Tahrīr-e tārīḥ-e Waṣṣāf*, Tehrān, 1967, p. 214 (abbreviated and simplified version of the previous).

²²⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.3, p. 778.

²³⁰ See Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, p. 289. See also al-Kutubī, *Uyūn al-tawārīḥ* (A 2922), vol. 22, l. 27b.

²³¹ Raphael, *Muslim Fortresses*, p. 187.

time was amir Šams al-Dīn Sunqur al-'Aṣar, to the supreme qādī [of Damascus] Šihab al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥuwayyī and were read in the mosque on Wednesday."²³² As we already said, some Mamluk historians have preserved the text of the letters addressed by the sultan and amir 'Alam al-Dīn al-Šuḡgā ī to the supreme qādī of Damascus: "When the good news of capturing Hromkla reached Damascus, - wrote al-Maqrīzī, - the city was decorated and musical instruments sounded the tidings of the victory."²³³

It seems the lord of Ḥamā al-Malik al-Muzaḡfar, participating in the siege of Hromkla, returned to Ḥamā not having waited until the final takeover of the fortress. We come to this conclusion because one of the sultan's congratulatory letters was addressed to him. An exclusive report of that is found in the work of the continuator of Ibn Wāṣil - Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm, head of the royal chancery of al-Malik al-Muzaḡfar at the time. In his work, under the date of 692 A.H., he wrote: "That year sultan al-Malik al-Aṣraf Šalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥalīl occupied Hromkla. In the month of Raḡab (June-July) of this year he wrote a letter to our lord sultan al-Malik al-Muzaḡfar to tell the good news of capturing". Although the chronicler did not render the content of al-Aṣraf Ḥalīl's letter, he cited the brief response written by himself on behalf of the lord of Ḥamā. Lauding the sultan's achievement Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm stressed the importance of seizing the fortress "for the countries of Islam".²³⁴

²³² Al-Mu'allif al-maḡhūl, p. 10.

²³³ See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.3, p. 778. Cf. al-Ġazārī, *Ḥawādīt*, vol. 1, p. 101; Ibn al-Furāt, *al-Duwal*, vol. 8, p. 137. Interestingly the Arabic text of one of the sultan's letters (*fathnāma* in original) addressed to emir of Ḥomṣ has been preserved by the Persian chronicler Waṣṣāf. However, it is strange that the date of the fortress capture is wrong, "7th of Ġumādā al-āḥir, Saturday". See Waṣṣāf, *Taghiya*, vol. 3, p. 354. Cf. Āyattī, *Tahrīr*, pp. 213-214.

²³⁴ See Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm, *Dayl*, pp. 142-143.

A few days after the conquest of Hromkla al-Malik al-Ašraf headed to Damascus. He left in the fortress a garrison from the Syrian troops under the command of the amir of Damascus 'Alam al-Dīn al-Šuġġā ī and instructing him to restore the structures destroyed by the catapults and sappers and return only after the restoration²³⁵. Step'anos Orbelean also wrote: "Having said this, he stationed a garrison and ordered to rebuild the wall ruined by the catapults."²³⁶ Baybars al-Manšūrī adds another instruction of the sultan: to wreck the suburb of the fortress (*rabḍ*) and craze it from there²³⁷.

Al-Ašraf headed to Damascus through Aleppo where he spent the rest of July²³⁸. On August 6 the sultan arrived to Damascus where the citizens met him with great solemnity, joy and celebrations. Al-Ašraf entered the city with the captives in front of him, specifically the "Armenian patriarch – the lord of Hromk-

²³⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.3, p. 778; Abū al-Fidā', *al-Muḥtaṣar*, vol. 4, p. 27; Nalbandyan, *Arabakan albyurnerā*, p. 239; al-Ġazarī, *Ḥawādīt*, vol. 1, p. 110.

²³⁶ Step'annos Orbēlean, *Sisakan*, vol. 2, p. 191.

²³⁷ See Baybars al-Manšūrī, *Zubda*, p. 289.

²³⁸ Ibid., 289. Notably the inscription preserved on the gates of the citadel of Aleppo lists the conquests of al-Malik al-Ašraf in 691 A.H. Without listing all conquered cities name by name it speaks about the victories over the Franks, Armenians and Tatars (Mongols) (*hāzim ġuyūš al-franġ, wa-l-arman wa-l-tatār, hādīm 'Akkā wa-l-bilād al-Sāḥiliyya* - "the defeater of the armies of Franks, Armenians and Tatars (Mongols) and the destroyer of Acre and the litoral countries"), even though during the campaign led by the sultan there was no direct confrontation with the latter. For the inscription see Tabbaa Y., *Construction of power and piety in medieval Aleppo*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997, pp. 74-75. However, this scholar erroneously converted the year 691 in the inscription to 1290 instead of 1291/1292. For another discussion of that inscription see Raphael, *Muslim Fortresses*, pp. 187-188.

la."²³⁹ The Mamluk historian Ibn Kaṭīr gives a more horrifying picture of the captives' entrance: "The sultan brought the "king" of Hromkla (*malik Qal'at al-Rūm* in the original) with him as a captive, as well as the heads of his comrades. He entered Damascus with those who were carrying the heads of their comrades on their spears."²⁴⁰ The Mamluk sources say nothing about the further fate of the Armenian patriarch. Instead, there is some notable information in the report by the metropolitan of Syunik: "He went from there and entering Dəməšx (Damascus) exhibited the Catholicos to the citizens walking in the squares. From there he went to Egypt, taking the catholicos with himself in iron cuffs. After a year (1293) the venerable and glorious Catholicos Tēr Step'annos passed away in prison. And the Christians, being granted permission, took him to the Ethiopian church of the Syrians and laid him to rest with honor."²⁴¹

The fact that Step'anos IV died in captivity is stated by the continuators of Smbat and Samuel Anec'i²⁴² as well as by Het'um the Historian. Opposite to Orbelean the latter wrote about the burial of the catholicos: "And the patriarch was captivated and taken to Egypt, and was incarcerated in the prison of the Cairo fortress where he deceased and was buried in the same prison."²⁴³

Nerses Palienc' concocted quite a "miraculous" end of the catholicos' captivity. As if after the captivity of Step'anos and "the right hand of the Illuminator", "death spread among them". The sultan's scholars warned him that it might be caused by the

²³⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.3, p. 779. Cf. al-Ġazarī, *Ḥawādīt*, vol. 1, p. 110 (*kisāgankūs*, i.e. disorted transliteration of "catholicos").

²⁴⁰ See Ibn Kaṭīr, *Al-Bidāya*, vol. 17, p. 648.

²⁴¹ Step'annos Orbēlean, *Sisakan*, vol. 2, pp. 191-192.

²⁴² Smbat, *Taregirk'*, 1859, p. 126; Samuēl Anec'i ev šarunakolner, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 267.

²⁴³ MŽ, vol. 2, p. 80.

captivity of the Christian leader and advised releasing him. Calling the Armenian chief bishop, the sultan said: "Choose yourself 8 men whoever you want and take your great and glorious objects of worship, that you had in your hand until descending from your fortress and go away from my land as soon as possible because I believe, that the death will depart from my country". As if the catholicos took the "the right hand of the Illuminator" and returned to Armenia where he shortly died²⁴⁴.

Not less "optimistic" is the narrative of the continuator of Bar Hebraeus: "And they took the Armenian Catholicos, and all the monks who were found with him, and they carried him with honour to Jerusalem on the Sabbath, the twenty-eight day of the month of Ḥazīrān (June) of that year, and behold there he still is." Nevertheless, being himself sceptical about the veracity of this information he adds a more trustworthy version that the catholicos ended his days in Damascus in captivity and misery²⁴⁵.

The restoration of Hromkla did not last long – hardly two months. Completing the restoration works in the fortress 'Alam al-Dīn al-Šuġgā ī returned to Damascus along with his troops on the 7th of month Šawwāl, 692 (Sept. 20, 1292), taking with him another group of captives²⁴⁶. As witnessed by Mamluk sources the first the first appointed governor of Hromkla was 'Izz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī. A year later, he was substituted by amir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭūġān²⁴⁷.

After the news about the death of Step'anos IV reached

²⁴⁴ See *ibid.*, pp. 181-182. Cf. *Patmut' iwn Aṭak'el Vardapeti Davrižec'woy* (The history of Vardapet Aṭak'el of Tabriz), Vaṭaršapat, 1896, p. 415; *Minas Hamdec'i, Azgabanut'yun Hayoc'*, Vaṭaršapat, 1870, p. 46.

²⁴⁵ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 493.

²⁴⁶ See al-Birzālī, *Al-Muqtafī*, vol. 2, p. 295. Cf. al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, vol. 1.3, p. 778.

²⁴⁷ See al-Ġazarī, *Ḥawādīṭ*, vol. 1, p. 153. Cf. al-Birzālī, *al-Muqtafī*, vol. 2, p. 331.

Cilicia, Het 'um ordered the election of a new patriarch. In 1293 the See of the Armenian Church was established in the capital Sis: anointed as a new catholicos was the close associate of Het 'um and advocate of the Latin faith Grigor VII of Anavarza (1293-1307).

As regards the relations of al-Ašraf Ḥalīl with the Armenian kingdom, the destruction of the catholicosate not only did not stop the sultan of Egypt but even strengthened his aggressive claims on the Armenian kingdom. In the letter sent to the qādī of Damascus he is openly speaking of his prospective plans that after "capturing Hromkla, ascending there (*tawaqqulihā*) and occupying its frontier fortification (*ḥiyāzat taġrihā wa-ma'qilihā*)" it remains to conquer *Mašriq* (the East), Rūm and Iraq and take hold of all countries from West to East (in the original - *min maġrib al-šams ilā maṭla' al-išrāq*)²⁴⁸.

Despite his military achievements, the sultan's rude and aggressive inner policy aroused strong counteractions by numerous influential amirs from the Mamluk elite. Feeling the danger after returning to Egypt in December 1292, he arrested a number of the Mamluk amirs including Sunqur al-Ašqar, well known to us. In the spring of the next year the sultan resolved to aim his sword at "the country of Sīs" again. Without going into further detail, let us only note that after several embassies shuttled between the countries they came to a-greement for truce and peace against surrendering the fortified cities of Behesnā, Tall Ḥamdūn and Mar'aš²⁴⁹. And as if the submission of the said cities was not enough Het 'um also undertook to double the tax to be paid to the Sultanate. On the other hand, the reinstatement of peace provided an opportunity to

²⁴⁸ See al-Mu'allif al-maġhūl, p. 12.

²⁴⁹ Scott, *Relations*, pp. 134-135; Mutaḥfian Cl., *La Cilicie au carrefour des Empires*, tome I, Les belles Lettres, Paris, 1988, p. 455-456, as well as *idem*, *L'Arménie*, p. 175, and especially Stewart, *Kingdom*, pp. 84-93.

somehow restore the country. Still in 1293, probably under the pressure of accusations for territorial concessions to the Mamluks, Het'um II was, for the first time, compelled to denounce the throne in favor of his brother T'oros. During that period the air of unrest, that became usual also for the Mamluk court, ended in the assassination of al-Ašraf by the viceroy Baydarā al-Manšūrī who proclaimed himself a sultan. However, in two or three days he was also dethroned and an infant brother of al-Ašraf – al-Nāšir was proclaimed sultan under the regency of amir Kitbugā²⁵⁰.

With the death of Step'anos IV closed was the last page of the history of Hromkla catholicosate full of the episodes of peaceful existence and spiritual service, productive and creative scholarly, cultural, educational work, copying and study as well as perpetual unrest caused by enemies, ecclesiastical-dogmatic disputes, fight for survival and heroic struggle.

²⁵⁰ See Āšūr, *al-'Ašr al-Mamālīkī*, pp. 106-107; Huḡḡa, *al-'Ālāqāt*, p. 272.

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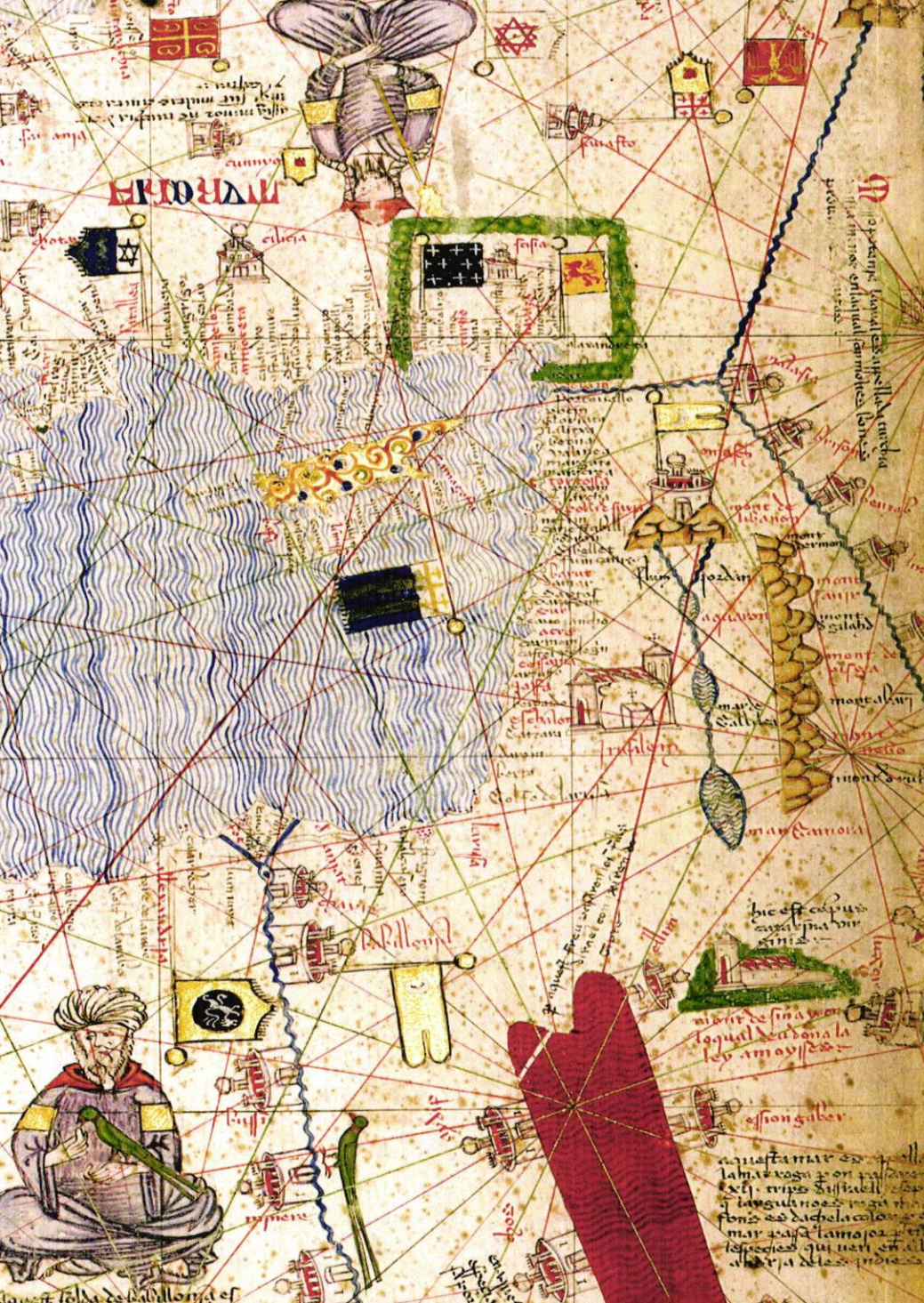
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